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THE RĀMĀYAṆA

BY

T. R. VENKATARAMA SASTRI

Prof. Jacobi is reported to have said that, if the Rāmāyaṇa was carefully sifted, not quite 6000 out of 24000 ślokas would be left as the genuine work of Vālmīki. What canons of judgment as to what is Vālmīki's, and what is not, would result in so drastic an excision from the Rāmāyaṇa, I can scarcely imagine. Jacobi's work is not available to us in English. I take this statement of Jacobi's from Dr. Winternitz's book which has been made available by Mrs. Ketkar with the co-operation of the Doctor himself. Dr. Winternitz says that the Uttarakāṇḍa is a later addition to the Rāmāyaṇa. Several Indian scholars also hold that opinion. The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri appears to have held the same opinion, judging from a letter from Mr. R. Narayana Aiyar to him, and from the same letter it appears that he, Mr. Narayana Aiyar, a very close student of the Rāmāyaṇa, did not agree with that view. It is for Mr. Narayana Aiyar to tell us on what grounds he accepts the Uttarakāṇḍa as part of the genuine original of Vālmīki. I here propose to set down such material as there is in Rāmāyaṇa and in the commentaries that bear on two questions:

(1) Whether Uttarakāṇḍa was part of Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa; and,

(2) Whether the Upodghāta sargas I. 1-4 were an addition by another hand.

1. The commentators had both the Uttara and the Upodghāta before them as part of the Rāmāyaṇa as their commentaries indicate. There is, therefore, indubitable proof that they were part of the Rāmāyaṇa *at their date*; other literary and epigraphic references too show the early date of both these portions of the epic and they must be deemed *prima facie* proof of their being part of the Rāmāyaṇa, unless displaced by any other decisive evidence.

2. The Uttara says in many a passage that it was written by Vālmīki. But, as Sāyaṇa says in his Introduction to the

Ṛgveda, no man can jump on his own shoulders, *i.e.*, no one can authenticate his statement by his own assertion. In a work orally transmitted, additions of enthusiastic bards are not seldom made in this country, and possibly in all countries. A plagiarist claims another's literary work as his own to enhance his reputation. These additions have the effect of attributing one's work to an illustrious author and investing them with an authority which they will not have if the true authorship is known.

3. "Caturviṁśatisāhasrikā" has almost become an alternate name for the kāvya. According to none is 24000 made out without Uttara. The inference depends upon other considerations. If the Uttara is assumed to be Vālmīki's from the beginning, the name furnishes further support to that view. If it was not orginally part of the Rāmāyaṇa, that name must have been given after the Uttara was added to it.

4. The Anukramaṇikā in the Southern recension has a śloka giving the extent of the kāvya:

caturviṁśat-sahasrāṇi
ślokānāṁ uktavān ṛṣiḥ
tathā sargaśatān pañca
ṣaṭkāṇḍāni tathottaram

500 sargas and 24000 ślokas are given as the extent. In fact the number of sargas is 648 for seven kāṇḍas and 537 for all but the seventh. The tradition is stated to be that the 500 sargas is the measure of the ṣaṭkāṇḍas only, but the whole, inclusive of Uttara, contained 24000 ślokas. One commentator says:

"Tatra pañcaśatasargasaṅkhyā ṣaṭakāṇḍānāṁ eva. Ślokasaṅkhyā tu sottarāṇām ityāhuḥ."

It is difficult to say why the count was taken of the ślokas after all the seven kāṇḍas were finished, but the count of the sargas was taken for ṣaṭkāṇḍas only. Nor is it easily explained why the sargas were not counted at the same time and correction made in the śloka as to sargas. It is not readily conceivable who could be interested in giving so misleading an account of the number of sargas. The odd sargas

below one hundred could have been fitted into the verse giving the number. It could have been said:

tathā sargaśatān ṣaṭ ća
saptatriṁśad athāpi ća.

And why '6 kāṇḍās with Uttara' instead of seven kāṇḍas one cannot see. Kataka-kāra has pronounced the śloka spurious. The commentator quoted goes on to say:

"Katakakṛtastu pañcāśatsargasaṅkhyāyāḥ ṣaṭ-triṁśat-sargādhikya-darśanāt[1] ślokasaṅkhyāyā apyādhikyadarśanād uttarakāṇḍasargasaṅkhyānukteśća śloko'yam prakṣipto na tvārṣaḥ."

But this verdict is not accepted by Govindarāja. He admits its inaccuracy but gives three alternative explanations for the inaccuracy. It might be that round figures only were intended to be given just as Amarakośa defines a Manvantara as 71 caturyugas, omitting 6 caturyugas undistributed between the fourteen Manus. This is hardly satisfactory when the admitted object was to prevent tampering with the kāvya. Or it might be, he says, that 500 was the project which exceeded in actual execution. This is not satisfactory either, as the count should have been then corrected and could easily have been after the completion of the work. The last explanation is that in course of long ages one sarga might have been copied as two or three and what really was 500 originally became 537. This is a plausible explanation, though it should be surprising that in all this vast country there is not one manuscript showing just five hundred sargas. The utter confusion in which we find the figures may be exhibited by a comparison of figures as to sargas and ślokas in Gorresio's Anukramaṇikā, his own text, Govindarāja's figures of the text in his time and the figures of MLJ edition in parallel columns and I also give the ślokas of his Anukramaṇikā as to the extent of each kāṇḍa together with the matter contained in the Uttara in a footnote[2]

1. Not 36 but 37 is the excess in sargas to the end of Yuddhakāṇḍa.

2. इत्येतत् प्रथमं काण्डमादिकाण्डमिहोच्यते ।
सर्गाश्चैव चतु:षष्टिः श्लोकानां चात्र कथ्यते ॥
द्वे सहस्रे शतान्यष्टौ श्लोकाः पञ्चाशदेव तु ।
* * *
काण्डं द्वितीयमित्युक्तमयोध्याकाण्डसंज्ञितम् ।
अशीतिः सङ्ख्यया सर्गाः श्लोकानां चात्र कीर्त्यते ॥

in order to show that his text just like the Southern recension contains in the Yuddhakāṇḍa much that is assigned to the

---

त्रीणि श्लोकसहस्राणि नव श्लोकशतानि च ।
श्लोकानां द्वे शते चैव भूयः श्लोकाश्च सप्ततिः ॥

* * *

इति काण्डं तृतीयं तु आरण्यकमिति स्मृतम् ।
सर्गाणां च शतं ज्ञेयं सर्गाश्चैव चतुर्दश ॥

चत्वारि च सहस्राणि श्लोकानां कीर्तितानि च ।
शतं चैवात्र विज्ञेयं श्लोकाः पञ्चाशदेव तु ॥

* * *

काण्डं चतुर्थमित्युक्तं किष्किन्धा नाम संज्ञितम् ।
सर्गाश्चैवात्र विज्ञेयाश्चतुःषष्टिस्तु सङ्ख्यया ॥

श्लोकानां द्वे सहस्रे च अष्टौ श्लोकशतानि च ।
श्लोकानां च शतं ज्ञेयं पञ्चविंशतिरेव च ॥

* * *

इत्येतत् पञ्चमं काण्डं सुन्दरं नाम कीर्तितम् ।
सर्गाणां यत्र सङ्ख्या च काण्डे सुन्दरसंज्ञिते ॥

चत्वारिंशत् त्रयश्चैव सर्गाः सम्यगुदाहृताः ।
श्लोकानां द्वे सहस्रे च चत्वारिंशच्च पञ्च च ॥

* * *

इति षष्ठमिदं काण्डं युद्धकाण्डमिति स्मृतम् ।
सर्गाणां च शतं ज्ञेयं पञ्च सर्गास्तथैव च ॥

काण्डे ह्यस्मिंस्तथा सङ्ख्या श्लोकानामपि कथ्यते ।
चत्वार्येव सहस्राणि पञ्च श्लोकशतानि च ॥

* * *

अतस्त्वभ्युदयं नाम सोत्तरं संप्रचक्षते ।
यत्र रावणदाराणां विलापः समुदाहृतः ॥
विभीषणाभिषेकश्च सत्कारो रावणस्य च ।
हनूमत्संप्रवेशश्च मैथिल्याश्चैव दर्शनम् ॥
सीताया निर्गमश्चैव रामेण च समागमः ।
भर्त्सनं चैव सीताया राघवेण महात्मना ॥
परित्यागश्च वैदेह्यास्तथा चाग्निप्रवेशनम् ।
अग्निप्रवेशे च तदा अदाहः परमाद्भुतः ॥
ब्रह्मादीनां च सर्वेषां देवानामिह दर्शनम् ।
वृषभध्वजदेवस्य दर्शनं चात्र कथ्यते ॥

Uttara showing that at some stage even the matter was differently distributed between the Yuddha and Uttara.

शक्राद्वरस्य संप्राप्तिर्हरीणां प्रतिजीवनम् ।
रत्नानां संविभागश्च राक्षसेन्द्रेण धीमता ॥
पुष्पकारोहणं चैव राघवस्य महात्मनः ।
वानराणां च सर्वेषां राक्षसानां तथैव च ॥
प्रतियानं च कथितं विस्तरेण महात्मनाम् ।
भारद्वाजाश्रमप्राप्तिर्ऋषेर्दर्शनमेव च ॥
नन्दिग्रामे प्रवेशश्च गुरूणां चैव दर्शनम् ।
अयोध्यासंप्रवेशश्च व्रतस्य च समापनम् ॥
अभिषेकश्च रामस्य प्रमोदो नगरस्य च ।
यौवराज्यप्रदानं च भरतस्य महात्मनः ॥

(Up to this, matter is now included in the Yuddhakāṇḍa in all editions including Gorresio's)

मुनीनामिह संप्राप्तिरुत्पत्तिश्चैव रक्षसाम् ।
त्रैलोक्यविजयाख्यानमहल्यापरिकीर्तनम् ॥
तथा सीताप्रवासश्च लक्ष्मणेन महात्मना ।
वाल्मीकाश्रमसंप्राप्तिर्मैथिल्याश्चात्र कथ्यते ॥
कुशीलवसमुत्पत्तिरिक्ष्वाकुकुलवृद्धये ।
लवणस्य वधश्चात्र शत्रुघ्नेन प्रकीर्तितः ॥
शम्बूकस्य वधश्चात्र कुम्भयोनिसमागमः ।
अलंकारस्य संप्राप्तिः श्वेतोपाख्यानमेव च ॥
अश्वमेधसमारम्भो गीतश्रवणमेव च ।
काव्यस्य चान्ते विज्ञाय स्वपुत्रौ तौ कुशीलवौ ॥
वाल्मीकेश्चैव वाक्यानि विलापो राघवस्य च ।
रसातलप्रवेशश्च वैदेह्याः परमाद्भुतः ॥
राघवस्य च संरम्भो दर्शनं परमेष्ठिनः ।
कालदुर्वाससोः प्राप्तिः संत्यागो लक्ष्मणस्य च ॥
सुहृदां चैव पौराणां प्लवगानां महात्मनाम् ।
महाप्रस्थानगमनं स्वर्गप्राप्तिश्च पुष्कला ॥
इत्याभ्युदयिकं काण्डं सभविष्यं सहोत्तरम् ।
नवतिः सङ्ख्यया सर्गाः श्लोकानां चात्र कथ्यते ॥
त्रीणि श्लोकसहस्राणि तावन्त्येव शतानि च ।
षष्टिः श्लोकास्तथा ज्ञेयाः काण्डेऽस्मिन् परिसङ्ख्यया ॥
सर्गाणां षट् शतानीह विंशतिश्चैव कीर्तिताः ।

G's Anukramaṇikā	G's Text	Govindarāja	MLJ Edn.
64	80	77	77
80	127	119	119
114	75	75	75
64	79	67	67
43	63	68	68
105	113	131	131
90	Nil	110	111
560	537	647	648

Note that Gorresio's text does not agree with his own Anukramaṇikā in sargas and ślokas. The last two columns differ as to the inclusion of the last sarga in Uttara.

2850	2487	2256	2280
4170	4119	4415	4310
4150	2842	2732	2414
2925	2302	2620	2528
2045	3299	3006	2848
4560	5143	5990	5754
3360	Nil	3234	3462
24000	20202	24253	23596

Gorresio must have been aware that his text does not agree with his Anukramaṇikā. His notes deserve translation.

5. The description of the work of Vālmīki is contained in the 9th śloka of the 4th sarga:

Sa yathā kathitam pūrvam
Nāradena maharṣiṇā
Raghuvaṁśasya caritam
cakāra bhagavān ṛṣiḥ[1]

That was undertaken in deference to Brahma's direction to write a kāvya 'yathā te nāradācchrutam'[2]. Brahma gave a boon to Vālmīki of being able to figure out what was rahasya or prakāśa. 'Vastu samagram' was obtained from Nārada and the narrative of Nārada therefore circumscribes Vālmīki's kāvya. Where does Nārada leave the story?

1. This is not in Gorresio's edition.
2. Not in Gorresio's edition.

Nandigrāme jaṭām hitvā
bhrātṛbhis sahito 'naghaḥ
Rāmas Sītām anuprāpya
rājyam punar avāptavān.

The rest of the sarga relates to the happiness of the subjects under his rule, his many sacrifices and the merit acquired by the reader of the kāvya to whatever caste he belonged. One thing more is contained in it:

rājavaṁśān śataguṇān
sthāpayiṣyati Rāghavaḥ
cāturvarṇyam ca loke 'smin
sve sve dharme niyokṣyati
daśavarṣasahasrāṇi
daśavarṣaśatāni ca
Rāmo rājyam upāsitvā
brahmalokam prayāsyati.

It is to be noted that the future tense is used. Now turn to that last sarga of the Yuddhakāṇḍa. Rāma has recovered Sītā. He is crowned and has obtained his rājya. Lakṣmaṇa had declined yauvarājya against all persuasion. Bharata is appointed yuvarāja. Then follow verses describing the happiness of his people under his rule, the many sacrifices performed, some more than once, and the merit of the reader and the copyist. I set down in footnotes in parallel columns the passages in Nārada's narrative and the ślokas of the last sarga of the Yuddhakāṇḍa.[1] Gorresio has a different text but the story is in effect the same.

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1. नन्दिग्रामे जटां हित्वा भ्रातृभिः सहितोऽनघः ।
राम: सीतामनुप्राप्य राज्यं पुनरवाप्तवान् ।।
2. प्रहृष्टमुदितो लोकस्तुष्टः पुष्टः सुधार्मिकः ।
a. निरामयो ह्यरोगश्च दुर्भिक्षभयवर्जितः ।।
न पुत्रमरणं केचिद् द्रक्ष्यन्ति पुरुषाः क्वचित् ।
b. नार्यश्चाविधवा नित्यं भविष्यन्ति पतिव्रताः ।
न चाग्निजं भयं किंचिन्नाप्सु मज्जन्ति जन्तवः ।।
न वातजं भयं किंचिन्नापि ज्वरकृतं तथा ।
न चापि क्षुद्भयं तत्र न तस्करभयं तथा ।
नगराणि च राष्ट्राणि धनधान्ययुतानि च ।।
नित्यं प्रमुदिताः सर्वे यथा कृतयुगे तथा ।।

1. लक्ष्मणानुचरो रामः पृथिवीमन्वपालयत् ।।
राघवश्चापि धर्मात्मा प्राप्य राज्यमनुत्तमम् ।
3. ईजे बहुविधैर्यज्ञैः ससुहृज्ज्ञातिबान्धवैः ।।
2b. न पर्यदेवन् विधवा न च व्यालकृतं भयम् ।
न व्याधिजं भयं वापि रामे राज्यं प्रशासति ।।
निर्दस्युरभवल्लोको नानर्थः कंचिदस्पृशत् ।
a. न च स्म वृद्धा बालानां प्रेतकार्याणि कुर्वते ।।
सर्वं मुदितमेवासीत् सर्वो धर्मपरोऽभवत् ।
राममेवानुपश्यन्तो नाभ्यहिंसन् परस्परम् ।।
आसन् वर्षसहस्राणि तथा पुत्रसहस्रिणः ।
b. निरामया विशोकाश्च रामे राज्यं प्रशासति ।।
रामो रामो राम इति प्रजानामभवन् कथाः ।
रामभूतं जगदभूद्रामे राज्यं प्रशासति ।।

In the first and last sargas, numerals will be used to mark the passages to be compared. The last sarga of the Yuddhakāṇḍa and the last ślokas in particular write *Finis* on the Rāmāyaṇa. Gorresio's edition comes to an end with the Yuddhakāṇḍa and it says expressly *Rāmāyaṇam samāptām.* But it has an Anukramaṇikā-sarga which refers to a seventh kāṇḍa going right to the Mahāprasthāna. It is therefore ambiguous. The only thing that it shows is that some manuscripts ended with the Yuddhakāṇḍa, with '*samāptam*' at the end. Looking to Gorresio's Anukramaṇikā, Yuddhakāṇḍa ended with the death of Rāvaṇa. The lamentations of his women begin the Abhyudayakāṇḍa. They are an inauspicious beginning for an Abhyudayakāṇḍa. At some time it must have been recast, so as to make the book end with coronation and the disbanding of the army which is the same thing as the send off to Rāma's guests.

6. Now let us turn to the Uttara as it exists today in the Southern edition. It is not a natural continuation of the narrative as it had reached at the end of the Yuddhakāṇḍa. Rāma has recovered Sītā. He has come back to his kingdom and has been crowned king. The celebrations connected with the coronation are all over. The guests, Sugrīva and his army of monkeys, Vibhīṣaṇa and his faithful followers, some of

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	नित्यपुष्पा नित्यफलास्तरवः स्कन्धविस्तृताः । काले वर्षी च पर्जन्यः सुखस्पर्शश्च मारुतः ॥
3. अश्वमेधशतैरिष्ट्वा तथा बहुसुवर्णकैः ॥ गवां कोट्ययुतं दत्त्वा विद्वद्भ्यो विधिपूर्वकम् । असङ्ख्येयं धनं दत्त्वा ब्राह्मणेभ्यो महायशाः ॥	3. पौण्डरीकाश्वमेधाभ्यां वाजपेयेन चासकृत् । अन्यैश्च विविधैर्यज्ञैरयजत् पार्थिवात्मजः ॥ राज्यं दश सहस्राणि प्राप्य वर्षाणि राघवः । शताश्वमेधानाजह्रे सदश्वान् भूरिदक्षिणान् ॥ आजानुलम्बबाहुः स महास्कन्धः प्रतापवान् ।
राजवंशान् शतगुणान् स्थापयिष्यति राघवः । 4. चातुर्वर्ण्यं च लोकेऽस्मिन् स्वे स्वे धर्मे नियोक्ष्यति दशवर्षसहस्राणि दशवर्षशतानि च । रामो राज्यमुपासित्वा ब्रह्मलोकं प्रयास्यति ॥	4. ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्रा लोभविवर्जिताः । स्वकर्मसु प्रवर्तन्ते तुष्टाः स्वैरेव कर्मभिः ॥
5. इदं पवित्रं पापघ्नं पुण्यं वेदैश्च सम्मितम् । यः पठेद्रामचरितं सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥ एतदाख्यानमायुष्यं पठन् रामायणं नरः । सपुत्रपौत्रः सगणः प्रेत्य स्वर्गे महीयते ॥	5. ऐश्वर्यं पुत्रलाभश्च भविष्यति न संशयः । रामायणमिदं कृत्स्नं शृण्वतः पठतः सदा ॥ एवमेतत् पुरावृत्तमाख्यानं भद्रमस्तु वः । प्रव्याहरत विस्रब्धं बलं विष्णोः प्रवर्धताम् ॥ देवाश्च सर्वे तुष्यन्ति ग्रहणाच्छ्रवणात्तथा । रामायणस्य श्रवणात्तुष्यन्ति पितरस्तथा ॥ भक्त्या रामस्य ये चेमां संहितामृषिणा कृताम् । लेखयन्तीह च नरास्तेषां वासस्त्रिविष्टपे ॥

the kapis, Hanumān and others who are specially named—who are in fact his army against Laṅkā, except for the women among them, receive appropriate presents and take leave and go home. The story bears every mark of ending there. When we come to Uttara the story begins apparently on the very coronation day. The guests have not yet gone home. They are all there. The ṛṣis come from all directions to offer congratulations to Rāma on his victory over Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarṇa and especially Meghanāda, son of Rāvaṇa, better known as Indrajit.

One question why Indrajit is rated higher as a warrier above his father and uncle started a long story. When an old race of rākṣasas was mentioned, were not then all rākṣasas Paulastyas, asked Rāma. The long story upon which the ancient sage Agastya was started included the old race of rākṣasas in Laṅkā, Viṣṇu driving them out, Laṅkā being given to Vaiśravaṇa, rākṣasas with Rāvaṇa's help re-capturing it ousting Vaiśravaṇa, his Puṣpaka vimāna being seized by Rāvaṇa, Rāvaṇa's penances and the boons obtained from Brahmā, how puffed up by the boons, he fought Vaiśravaṇa, Yama, Indra and Varuṇa, how Meghanāda acquired the name of Indrajit in the war against Indra, how Rāvaṇa was worsted by Kārtavīryārjuna and Vāli, how he was rescued from the former by his father and how he made *sakhya* with Vāli and then about the early life of Hanumān. This long narrative occupies 36 sargas. The whole narrative occupies the busy coronation day, while only 20 sargas could be recited at Aśvamedha; the 37th sarga refers to the night of the coronation. After some days Janaka and other guests are sent home with presents. This second narrative of send-off of the guests is the same as that in the last sarga of the Yuddhakāṇḍa after the celebrations were over. If Vālmīki wrote continuously at the same time, the narrative would not have overlapped in that way. The inference is that at least, Vālmīki, if indeed he himself was the author, took up that part of the Rāmāyaṇa at a later time and went back to an earlier day for the resumption of the story. There are other stories in which Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were narrators and listened by turns. One story deserves special mention. Sumantra, the good minister, who seems to be the custodian of all ancient lore, the one who narrated how Ṛśyaśṛṅga should be brought for the performance of *putrakāmeṣṭi* here brings a new story of a conversation between

Daśaratha and Durvāsas in which Daśaratha asked the question as to what his prospect was in regard to sons and gets the answer that Viṣṇu lay under a curse of Bhṛgu and was going to be born as his son and suffer long separation from his wife and that was happening to Rāma at the moment. So all the time Daśaratha knew that Rāma was the Supreme Unborn born as his son—a statement not borne out by Daśaratha's conduct on any occasion. At what stage of the recital did Rāma come to know that the reciters were his own sons by Sītā, it is not stated by the Southern recension. Gorresio's edition says at the end of the story. If so, Rāma sent for Vālmīki knowing that Sītā would accompany him and disappear into the bowels of the earth, into the Rasātala, and certainly when he asked Lakṣmaṇa to mount guard, the kāvya had long previously told him that it would end in his *parityāga*. That seems to me unnatural because man struggles against warning but yet destiny defeats him. Rāma did struggle against the disappearance of Sītā voluntarily. It is not natural to be warned of the end and yet to walk into the foretold calamity. And again in the Mahāprasthāna the whole host of citizens, young and old, and therefore even infants, enter the Sarayū. And the benignant Rāma who obtained by a special boon from Indra that all the dead kapis should come back to life acquiesces in the citizens joining him in the mahāprasthāna without dissuading them. One wonders whether the mahāprasthāna of the Rāmāyaṇa was modelled on that of the Mahābhārata with this exaggeration that what was confined to the heroes in the Mahābhārata was extended to the heroes as well as the citizens and sthāvaras and jaṅgamas, somewhat inartistically, because Vāsudeva Yādava is referred to in the Uttara in connection with *Nṛgaśāpavimocana*. Two unnamed persons quarrel over a cow and approaching the king Nṛga, could not see him. They curse him that he should turn into a kṛkalāsa (chameleon) and set a *terminus ad quem* for the operation of their curse. Competent students of the Rāmāyaṇa pronounce the style and art of Uttara inferior to the ṣaṭkāṇḍas. If that has any justification, then the Uttara is a later addition by another hand. Certainly the art of story-telling is inferior, at least generally. I am not sure that a recital of his own future to Rāma is well-conceived.

There are certain minor indications which must now be set out. In the fourth sarga, commenting on:

ciranirvṛttam apyetat
pratyakṣam iva dṛśyate

Tilaka has it that *etat* which is really the whole body of the kāvya is really the ṣaṭkāṇḍas. The word *Nirvṛtta* (past) enforces it. There are two things to say: first, part of Uttara is *nirvṛtta* and should have been included if Uttara is to be recognised as Vālmīki's work. The second is that proper construction is that the whole kāvya related to the *past only*. When Vālmīki sat on the kuśa grass to explore the full material, what did he find?

hasitam bhāṣitam caiva
gatir yā yacca ceṣṭitam
tatsarvam dharmavīryeṇa
yathāvat samprapasyati.
strītṛtīyena ca tathā
yatprāptam caratā vane
satyasandhena Rāmeṇa
tatsarvam cānvaveṣitam.

purā yat tatra *nirvṛttam*
pāṇāvāmalakam yathā
tatsarvam tattvato dṛṣṭvā
dharmeṇa ca mahādyutiḥ.

It is to be noted that the search for material for the kāvya was wholly in connection with the past. Does not the future require any exploration similarly; but nothing is said of it there. The real narrative begins with

kosalo nāma muditaḥ (I. 5. 5).

It is said that the illustrious Tamil author Kamban so begins his Rāmāyaṇa and ends it with coronation, leaving another to write the Uttara. Even the reciters must have begun with that śloka. Some one objected that if the first four sargas had been recited, Rāmā would have known easily that the reciters were his own sons. Govindarāja meets the objection by saying that Rāma would not have known it as there was no statement that they were Sītā's sons though they were said to be regal in appearance. But then we have also,

Bimbād ivotthitau bimbau
Rāmadehāt tathāparau.

And we have in Uttara, sarga 94, that the assembled auditors looked at the reciters and Rāma and said to each other that

except for the jaṭā and habiliments of the ascetics they saw no difference between them and Rāma and *bimbād ivotthitau bimbau* is also repeated but it also states that the recital included Nārada's story to Vālmīki. If these sargas were also recited, why did Rāma ask *"kimpramāṇam idam kāvyam"* in the 94th sarga when it had been given at the very beginning as 500 sargas and 24000 ślokas. It cannot be that Rāma had forgotten it when we have it that he listened to the recital with *kautūhala* and *avahitacetas.* That the four sargas and four ślokas of the fifth sarga could not have been recited is the inference or at least that the śloka was a spurious addition. From Govindarāja we learn that a disciple might have written the sargas and prefixed them as a prefatory matter. I think not an improper inference that the reciters could not have recited them though the Uttara says that they were recited.

The long ślokas are not to be dismissed for the reason that they are in another metre than śloka. Vālmīki surely knew that long and short metres are to be found in Veda itself. Vālmīki did not invent the śloka but took it from the Vedic metres and used it for the kāvya for the first time. I am aware that he intended to write the kāvya in ślokas (See I. 2. 40-41). Govindarāja is aware of it and adds, *"Idṛśaiḥ iti prāyikābhiprāyam etad; vṛttāntarāṇāmapi tatra tatra prayogāt."* Some sargas are in the longer metre. Even where we can dispense with a mere summarising śloka at the end of a sarga as unnecessary, I cannot say that such long verses might not be an intended summary and a part of his art. Some passages, the commentators say, are doubtful because they are, like Ādityahṛdaya, not to be found in some books. It is clear however, that Govindarāja does not like the Āditya cult. One cannot assume that Vālmīki's sense of propriety tallied with ours. To pay reverence to a great Ṛṣi like Bhāradvāja on the way may be considered proper. Dilīpa hurrying at the call of duty had to perform a penance for neglecting the divine cow on the way.

This pruning of Rāmāyaṇa is a separate department of study. Appreciation of Rāmāyaṇa as a book that had a deep influence on men and has moulded largely their character and as one among the books that lie at the root of Indian culture belongs to another sphere of study. Even not so very partial a witness as Rückert says:

"Such fantastic grimaces, such formless fermenting verbiage
As Rāmāyaṇa offers thee, that has Homer
Certainly taught thee to despise; but yet such lofty thoughts
And such deep feeling Iliad does not show".

From a foreigner brought up in another tradition and with different conception of art, it is high praise and unquestionably if he does not appreciate the art of Vālmīki it is only in small part due to his different conceptions of art but in large part due to the disservice the rhapsodial poetasters have done by the poetical effusions inserted in the genuine text of the Rāmāyaṇa.

What "funded experience" of a people even at so early a date stood embodied in this Ādikāvya, the earliest epic of India! It is its "lofty thoughts and deep feeling" that India has fed on. It is this rich heritage that we seem to be forgetting today. But what has been said, *yavād sthāsyanti girayaḥ* etc., is up to date verified and may it continue to nourish us in the future as it has nourished us in the past. Nothing in this attempt at recovering the genuine text of Vālmīki can detract from the intrinsic value of this great Ādikāvya to us.

THE DRAUPADĪVASTRAHARAṆA EPISODE: AN INTERPOLATION IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.*

BY

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1. The Draupadīvastraharaṇa (Dv) episode appears in the Sabhā Parvan of the Mbh. (Ch. 61, vv. 40-48, Critical ed.) Its length and contents vary in the different editions of the great epic. The longest account of the Dv. appears in the Kumbhakonam ed. (Ch. 90, vv. 40-58) rightly described as a misch-edition; while the shortest account appears in the critical ed. published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The Vulgate represented by the Citraśālā Press ed. (Ch. 68, vv. 40-55) and the Madras ed. (Ch. 61, vv. 42-57) representing the Southern Recension have practically got the same extent of the episode, with some different verses. The critical ed. and the Vulgate have the same order of events, while the Madras and the Kumbh. eds. have a different order.

2. The chief events in the Dv. episode are according to the Critical ed. three, *viz.* (1) Duḥśāsana tearing off Draupadī's cloth, and the appearance of a new garment (vv. 40-42), (2) Bhīma taking a vow of drinking the blood of Duḥśāsana (vv. 43-47), and, (3) a heap of Draupadī's garments stopping Duḥśāsana from his activity (v. 48). There is no mention of Draupadī's pathetic appeal to Kṛṣṇa, the Lord of the Vraja and dear to Gopīs—an appeal which appears in the Vulgate (vv. 42-48), the Madras ed. (vv. 43-50) and the Kumbh. ed. (vv. 41-51). Bhīma's vow of tasting the blood of Duḥśāsana appears at the end in the Madras and Kumbh. eds., while it appears before Duḥśāsana desists from his action, in the Vulgate and in the Critical ed.

3. The omission of Draupadī's appeal to Kṛṣṇa from the Critical ed., on the strength of the unfailing evidence of Mss. is, indeed, very significant, and confirms the opinions of Sir Bhandarkar,[1] Dr. Winternitz,[2] Dr. Farquhar[3] and Mr.

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1. Vaiṣṇavism etc., p. 36, fn. 1.
2. A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, p. 344, fn. 2.
3. Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 100, fn.6.

Utgikar.[1] The shortest account in the Critical ed., therefore, represents an earlier stage of the Dv. episode. The later redactors are mainly responsible for the longer versions including Draupadī's appeal to Kṛṣṇa. The old simple stories were later on embroidered with the obvious motive of glorifying Kṛṣṇa as the highest divinity, and of creating interest in the audience. Prof. Edgerton, the learned editor of the Critical ed. of the Sabhā Parvan, holds the view that the shortest account of the Dv. episode, as given in the Critical ed., appeared in the original Mbh.[2] An attempt is here made to show on the strength of the internal and external evidence that the very Dv. episode did not form part of the original Mbh. and that it was later on introduced with the object of depicting the Kauravas in the worst light possible for satisfying the audience whose sympathies always went with the Pāṇḍavas, and further developed in the cause of Kṛṣṇa-cult.

4. A clear reference to Dv. and the supply of garments in a miraculous way appears in the verses 40 and 41 (Crit. ed.), while the verses 42 and 48 make a secondary reference to the miracle. The intervening verses 43-47 refer to Bhīma's vow of drinking the blood of Duḥśāsana, which is the logical sequence of the Dv. described in the preceding verses. It will be shown later on that the vow of Bhīma, also, did not appear in the original Mbh.

5. It was pointed out long ago by the late Mr. Utgikar,[3] who examined fourteen Mss. of the Sabhā Parvan, that the vv. 40-45 of the 68th ch. of the Vulgate are omitted in certain Mss. There is, however, some discrepancy in his statements, when he mentions the vv. 41-45 (and not 40-45 as previously done) in the tabular statement in the Appendix II.[4] It is not possible to decide at present which of the two statements is correct. If the first statement (vv. 40 to 45) is accurate, the primary reference to the Dv. (vv. 40-41, Cri. ed.) becomes impossible, and the interpolated nature of the Dv. is proved beyond doubt. If it is presumed that the second statement

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1. Annals, BORI., Vol. II, pp. 164-165.

2. Critical ed. of the Sabhā Parvan, Introduction, pp. XXVIII, XXIX.

3. 'Our Mahābhārata work', Annals BORI. Vol. II, pp. 155-188.

4. Ibid, p. 187.

(vv. 41-45) is reliable, a part of the primary reference to the Dv. has to be eliminated from the text. (41-a of the Vulgate= 41-ab of the Crit. ed.) The problem, therefore, remains moot. It is necessary to turn to some other strong evidence, which is fortunately available.

6. There is a dialogue between Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Sañjaya in the Mbh. I. 1. The blind king narrates the events of the whole epic in the famous Anukramaṇī Parvan. He refers to all important events in a regular order but does not allude to Dv. The footnote in the Critical ed. of the Ādi Parvan gives a verse referring to the Dv.,[1] found in the Vulgate and the Kumbh. ed., but not in the Madras ed. There is also, a significant omission of Bhīma's vow of drinking Duḥśāsana's blood from Dhṛtarāṣṭra's description. The Madras ed. agrees with the Critical ed. even in this respect. The Vulgate and the Kumbh. ed., however, contain a verse referring to the vow of Bhīma, and this verse is put in the footnote of the Critical ed.[2] There is one more verse in the footnote[3] mentioning the same topic, but is not found in the Vulgate, the Madras ed. and the Kumbh. ed. The footnotes in the Critical ed. clearly show how the Anukramaṇī Parvan has directly varied with the Mbh. At any rate it is quite obvious that in the earlier stage in the history of the Mbh. text, there were no Dv. episode and the vow of Bhīma to drink Duḥśāsana's blood. That Bhīma's vow is a later addition is wonderfully supported by the omission of the event from the summary of the Karṇa Parvan given in the well-known Parva-saṅgraha Parvan.[4] The Madras ed. agrees with the Critical ed. The footnote in the Critical ed. mentions a verse referring to Bhīma's vow,[5] and this verse is found in the Vulgate and the Kumbh. ed. The dynamic nature of the Parva-saṅgraha Parvan, also, is quite evident from the footnotes in the Critical ed.

7. There is another evidence in the Udyoga Parvan of the Mbh. (Critical ed.) showing that the Dv. episode is a late interpolation. At the instance of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Sañjaya approaches the Pāṇḍavas and dissuades them from fighting, on

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1. p. 17, 40.*
2. p. 23, 54.*
3. p. 23, 55.*
4. Mbh. I. 2. 169-172 (pp. 52-53).
5. pp. 52-53, 152.*

philosophical grounds. Kṛṣṇa is annoyed at the sermon of Sañjaya and draws his attention to the atrocities committed by the Kauravas.[1] There is a bare reference to Duḥśāsana bringing Draupadī to the hall but there is no mention of Dv. and catching hold of her hair in Kṛṣṇa's retort to Sañjaya.[2] Later on,[3] Yudhiṣṭhira, also, rebukes Sañjaya and enumerates all heinous offences perpetrated by the Kauravas. Here also, as before, there is no reference to Dv., but there is an allusion to Duḥśāsana's seizing Draupadī's hair only.[4] These are the two occasions where Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira are expected to make a reference to the Dv., if it were a fact at all. The omission of the Dv. event is most significant, and is quite sufficient to prove that the Dv. episode was not part of the original Mbh.

8. Further, the Karṇa Parvan of the Mbh. (Citraśālā Press ed.) furnishes us with additional evidence. During fighting, the wheel of Karṇa's chariot sinks in the mud, and Karṇa requests Arjuna not to commence fight, on the ground of military code. (Ch. 90). At that time Kṛṣṇa criticises Karṇa (Ch. 91) for his hypocrisy, and reminding him of his immoral conduct in the past refers to Duḥśāsana's bringing Draupadī to the assembly-hall, but does not mention the removal of Draupadī's garment, and even the seizure of her hair.[5] Had the Dv. been a fact, a reference to it on such an occasion was necessary, nay, inevitable. Kṛṣṇa's silence on this point is, by itself, an adequate piece of evidence in support of the interpolated nature of the Dv. episode.

9. The same Parvan, again, furnishes another evidence also. In the Ch. 83, there is a dialogue between Bhīma and Duḥśāsana, before Bhīma fulfils his vow of drinking the blood of Duḥśāsana. In two places, Bhīma refers to Duḥśāsana dragging the hair of Draupadī, but is wonderfully silent on the removal of her garment[6]. Duḥśāsana in reply to Bhīma refers in a boasting manner to his act of dragging Draupadī's hair,

1. Mbh. V. 29.
2. Mbh. V. 29. 30-33.
3. Mbh. V. 31.
4. Mbh. V. 31. 13-16.
5. Mbh. VIII. 91. 2-8.
6. Mbh. VIII. 83, 20, 21, 46, 48.

but not to that of stripping her of her clothes.[1] If Draupadī's garment was actually removed by Duḥśāsana, it is most unnatural for both Bhīma and Duḥśāsana not to refer to it in the circumstances. The silence on the part of excited Bhīma and arrogant Duḥśāsana, regarding the Dv. episode, naturally leads one to believe that there was nothing of the type in the original Mbh. The episode of Bhīma drinking the blood of Duḥśāsana is, as shown before, a later development; and even this later interpolation does not refer to the Dv.—a feature which naturally raises suspicion about the authenticity of the Dv. episode.

10. There is, however, one place in the Karṇa Parvan where there is a reference to both the dragging of Draupadī's hair and the removal of her garment by Duhśāsana.[2] Bhīma recollects these two crimes of Duḥśāsana, besides other persecutions, is extremely provoked and makes a fiery speeeh. The verse appears in the Kumbh. ed. also (VIII, 85, 17). I am informed by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, preparing the critical edition of the Karṇa Parva, that the the verse (Ch. 83, 15) mentioning the removal of Draupadī's garment is an interpolation, and as such, does not form part of the text in the Critical edition. It may be noted here that the Madras ed. of the Karṇa Parvan does not contain the verse. It is, therefore, permissible to suppose that the verse did not appear in the original Mbh. These are all the cross references in the Mbh., which do not make any reference to the Dv., even when they are expected to do so; and there is not a single cross-reference to the Dv. in the Mbh.—a fact which proves, beyond doubt, that the Dv. did not form part of the original Mbh. and that it was subsequently added and enlarged from time to time.

11. There are, again, two more places in the Mbh. where one would naturally expect a reference to the removal of Draupadī's garment, if at all it was a fact. The first case is in the Āraṇyaka Parvan. When Kṛṣṇa goes to see the Pāṇḍavas in the forest, Draupadī cannot help enumerating all sorts of harassment by the Kauravas, and mentions her seizure by hair (Ch. 13, v. 108, Crit. ed.), but does not refer to the removal of her garment. The other case occurs in the Śalya Parvan, Ch. 31, (Citraśālā Press ed.). When Duryo-

1. Mbh. VIII. 83, 24.
2. Mbh. VIII. 83, 15.

dhana entered the Dvaipāyana lake and refused to fight, Yudhiṣṭhira, under instructions from Kṛṣṇa, goaded Duryodhana to fight, and remarked that he had no business to live as he committed a series of heinous offences. Yudhiṣṭhira, then, mentions the crimes of Duryodhana and refers to his dragging Draupadī (v. 71), but does not allude to the removal of her garment. The omission of the removal of Draupadī's garment even on these two occasions is very significant, and strengthens the view that the whole episode is a later interpolation.

12. Besides the internal evidence, there is also some external evidence in support of our theory. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa (Bh) is clearly a work glorifying Kṛṣṇa as the highest divinity, the lord of Vraja and dear to Gopīs. There are in the Bh. altogether four references to the actions of Duḥśāsana which mention only the seizure of Draupadī's hair and are wonderfully silent on the Dv.[1] It has been shown that the Dv. episode was developed with Draupadī's fervent appeal to Kṛṣṇa, the lord of Vraja and dear to Gopīs, with the purpose of magnifying the personality of Kṛṣṇa. One would naturally expect the Bh., a work purely Kṛṣṇaite in nature, to refer to the Dv. episode with an appeal to Kṛṣṇa. But the omission from the Bh. is most significant, and shows that the Dv. episode did not appear in the original Mbh.

13. Even in the classical Sanskrit literature, happily, a piece of evidence is available. Bhāsa's drama, Dūtavākya (Act I) refers to a canvas where Duḥśāsana is painted as dragging the hair of Draupadī. In all, there are three references to this painting, two by Duryodhana and one by Kṛṣṇa. Duryodhana once refers to the dragging of both hair and garment, but later on refers to the dragging of hair only. Kṛṣṇa while seeing the portrait rejects it on the ground that it is indecent as there is the dragging of Draupadī's hair. Kṛṣṇa's remark does not refer to Draupadī's garment. The omission of the garment even from Kṛṣṇa's speech is very significant and naturally raises the suspicion with regard to the genuineness of the Dv. episode in the Mbh. In the third alone there is reference to both hair and garment as against the two references to hair only; but here the word *ambara* in the compound *Keśāmbara* may be an interpolation; or the

1. Bhāgavata Purāṇa I. 86; 15-10; III. 1.7; XI. 1.2.

compound word may be explained as 'the garment over the hair or head' of Draupadī, in which case the complete stripping of Draupadī's garment is not intended. It is, therefore, quite possible that the Mbh. as known to Bhāsa (4th century B.C.) did not contain any reference to the Dv. episode.

14. There are, again, other considerations which lend support to what has been stated above. The first point that draws our attention is the element of miracle in the appearance of one garment after another when the only piece of cloth on the body of Draupadī was being removed by Duḥśāsana. This feature is retained in the shortest account of the Dv., in the Critical ed. of the Sabhā Parvan. The learned editor, Prof. Edgerton, describes the feature as cosmic justice which automatically or magically prevented the chaste and noble Draupadī from being stripped in public.[1] This interpretation of Prof. Edgerton is, no doubt, ingenious, and does full justice to the poetic genius of the redactors of the Mbh. But the question that naturally arises is whether such a miracle actually took place in the assembly hall. One is inclined to think that such miracles belong to the province of fiction and not to that of history; and if this is correct—and it seems to be correct—, the Dv. episode has to be marked as a later interpolation coming from some poetic brain of a subsequent period.

15. Another point which raises suspicion about the Dv. episode is the presentation of two conflicting versions put side by side even in the Critical ed. of the Sabhā Parvan (Ch. 60). When Draupadī was lost in gambling, Duryodhana sent his servant to bring her to his own palace. The servant conveyed the message to Draupadī who raised a legal issue which compelled him to return to Duryodhana. Duryodhana again asked the servant to go to Draupadī once more with the instruction that she should plead her cause in person in the assembly hall. The servant again went to Draupadī and delivered the message of Duryodhana, whereupon Draupadī expressed her full confidence in Dharma which was expected to stand by her (vv. 11-13). Immediately after this, there appear two verses (14-15) to the effect that Yudhiṣṭhira, knowing the mind of Duryodhana, sent a trusted servant to Drau-

1. Sabhā Parvan, Intro. p. XXIX.

padī and the latter came into the assembly and stood before her father-in-law. The verses (16 ff.) that immediately follow tell a different story, according to which Duryodhana, again, addressed his servant, the Prātikāmin, asking him to bring Draupadī and when he hesitated, asked Duḥśāsana to do so, and the latter carried out the order most willingly.

16. All these verses clearly show three conflicting versions, *viz.*, the Prātikāmin, again, going to Draupadī, (2) Yudhiṣṭhira sending his own servant to Draupadī and Draupadī appearing in the hall, and (3) Duryodhana sending Duḥśāsana to Draupadī when the Prātikāmin was unwilling, and Duḥśāsana dragging Draupadī by the hair to the hall.[1] The first version is evidently incomplete, and an attempt has been made by later redactors to make it complete and bring it in line with the third version, by the insertion of additional verses which are put in the foot-note in the Critical ed.,[2] and which are found in the Vulgate. The discord between the first and the third version is thus removed. There is, then, the question of the version No. 2 and the version No, 3, which are clearly at variance. Both of them could not have formed part of the original epic. One of the two versions has, therefore, to be taken as original, and the other as a later development. It appears that the shorter and natural account found in the version No. 2 is earlier than the elaborate account in the version No. 3. In that case, Duḥśāsana dragging Draupadī to the hall and later on outraging her modesty could not have been a matter of history; and consequently the Dv. episode must have been introduced in the epic at a later stage.

17. The last point for consideration is the society in the times of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas. The only evidence that is available is literary, and that too is scanty. In the Rāmāyaṇa, Rāvaṇa kidnapped Sītā but did not make any attempt to outrage her modesty during her stay in Laṅkā and this shows some culture even on the part of Rāvaṇa, the villain of the sister epic. The literature ranging from the Brāhmans to the Śūdras does not show the moral deterioration which could have made the conduct such as that of Duḥśāsana quite normal. It appears that the society of the Pāṇḍava-Kaurava period was not so depraved as to make Duḥśāsana's

1. ibid. Intro. pp. XXXI—XXXII.
2. Sabhā Parvan pp. 293-294, 531-534.*

action possible. At any rate the moral standard of the Kṣatriyas at the time of the Bhārata battle was far from being low. And this would not leave any scope for the most abominable action of removing the garment of Draupadī by Duḥśāsana in the original epic, which was in all probability a work of pure history.

18. The examination of the whole evidence available in connection with the Dv. episode, thus, leads us to the irresistible conclusion that the Dv. episode did not form part of the original epic and that it was introduced later on by the redactors of the epic, with motives too well-known. A careful study of the critical edition of the Mbh. and the most valuable foot-notes and the appendices therein, make it possible to find out the several stages in the development of the Dv. episode.

THE HADRIAN'S WALL IN ROMAN BRITAIN—AN IMPRESSIVE RITUAL

BY

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Archaeology is a living science, a throbbing ritual and a happy remembrancer of the glorious past of any country and time. It is so in India, but it is indeed of a very impressive and colourful nature in Great Britain where I had recently occasions to study the archaeology of Great Britain and its monuments. The study of Romano-Buddhist-Art is of everlasting interest to the Indian and to the student of Buddhist Art. A tour to the roman sites and excavations in Great Britain helps one to appreciate Roman art on one side and Roman Military and Frontier system on the other.

Mention may be made here of the following Roman sites and Excavations in Britain which I had the fortune to visit:—

1. Silchester Roman wall, near Reading.
2. Regnum (Chichester), Sussex.
3. Verulamium, near St. Albans (Roman cemetery, Theatre, Temple, Forum, Baths, Walls, Gates etc.)
4. Uriconium, at Wroxeter (Rome Street, Basilica, Baths etc.).
5. Roman town of Ratae Coritanorum, Leicester, (Roman Forum, Jewry Hall and Roman pavement.)
6. Roman Legionary Fortress at Caerleon (*Isca*), Monmouthshire, Wales. The Roman Amphitheatre and Military dwellings.
7. Caervent (*Venta Silvrum*), Monmouthshire, Wales.
8. Kanovium, Caerhun Caernarvonshire Wales, Roman Fort.
9. Hadrian's Wall, Northumberland and Cumberland, England.

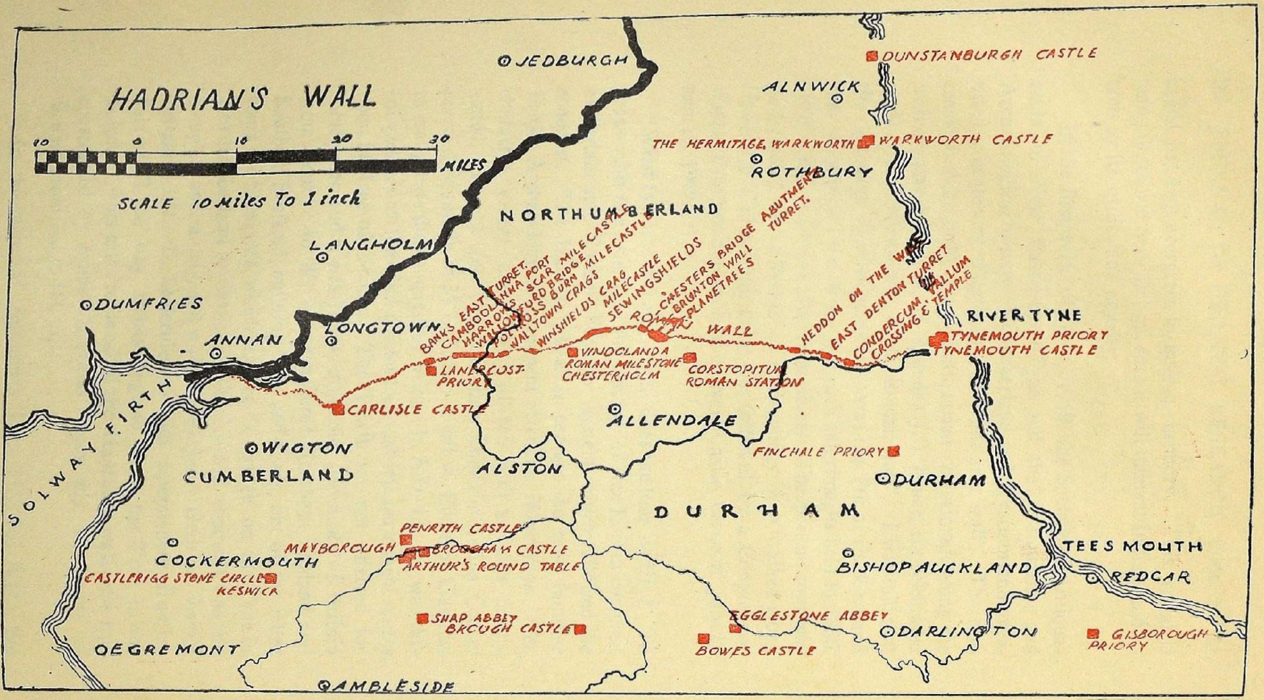
The Hadrian's Wall has an individual attraction of its own not only for its architecture and original purpose but also for the manner in which it is visited and appreciated by the modern tourist and the modern Britisher. It is indeed a ritual, an impressive relic of the Roman Frontier system which is re-

called and kept evergreen in human memory. This ritual is being described here as I am sure it will interest Indian readers both by its utility and novelty.

In the first week of July, 1949, the Society of Antiquarians of New Castle-upon-Tyne and the Antiquarian and Archaeological Society of Cumberland and Westmorland organised a centenary 'Pilgrimage of Hadrian's wall'. The centenary is that of the first Antiquarian Pilgrimage along the wall organised in June, 1849, under J.G. Bruce, the celebrated author of a "Handbook to the Roman wall". I was told that the centenary Pilgrimage of 1949 was the 7th of its kind and that since 1849 there were five such pilgrimages held in 1886, 1896, 1904, 1920 and 1930 respectively. The present tour was participated by all lovers of Archaeology who walked along Hadrian's Wall and this event was followed by a Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held at New Castle between July 11 and 14, 1949.

What is this ritual and what does the tour signify? To answer this one must read the history of the Roman conquest of Britain and Roman Frontier system which followed the conquest. The Hadrian's Wall is perhaps the most familiar British Archaeological monument after the *Stonehenge*. The character, extent and history of this wall are now briefly stated. Though the Great Roman Emperor Julius Caesar invaded Britain in in 55 B.C., it was left to Emperor Claudius to inaugurate the conquest of Britain in A.D. 43. It was this conquest which Claudius commenced that left permanent marks upon the face of Britain. The North was not affected for some years, and it was Julius Agricola, Governor of Britain from about 77 to 85, who conquered Northern England and Southern Scotland, building forts and roads, one of the latter being the Stanegate, which ran by Corbridge on the Tyne in Northumberland to Carlisle. The Scottish conquest was incomplete and uneasy, and when the Emperor Hadrian visited Britain in 122 A.D., he decided to build a permanent frontier barrier all the way across England from the Tyne to the Solway. This came to be called the Hadrian's wall and was constructed by Aulus Platorious Nepos, who was legate of Britain from 122 to 126 A.D.

In the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.) the Romans advanced into Scotland and another wall was built


HADRIAN'S WALL
10 0 10 20 30
MILES
SCALE 10 Miles To 1 inch
JEDBURGH
ALNWICK
DUNSTANBURGH CASTLE
THE HERMITAGE, WARKWORTH
WARKWORTH CASTLE
ROTHBURY
NORTHUMBERLAND
LANGHOLM
DUMFRIES
ANNAN
LONGTOWN
RIVER TYNE
TYNEMOUTH PRIORY
TYNEMOUTH CASTLE
WALL
HEDDON ON THE WALL
EAST DENTON TURRET
CONDERCUM
VALLUM CROSSING & TEMPLE
CHESTERS BRIDGE ABUTMENT
TURRET.
BRUNTON WALL
PLANETREES
SEWINGSHIELDS
MILECASTLE
WINSHIELDS CRAG
WALLTOWN CRAGS
POLTROSS BURN MILECASTLE
WILLOWFORD BRIDGE
HARROWS SCAR MILECASTLE
CAMBOGLANNA PORT
BANKS EAST TURRET.
VINDOLANDA
ROMAN MILESTONE
CHESTERHOLM
CORSTOPITUM
ROMAN STATION
LANERCOST PRIORY
CARLISLE CASTLE
ALLENDALE
SOLWAY FIRTH
WIGTON
CUMBERLAND
ALSTON
FINCHALE PRIORY
DURHAM
PENRITH CASTLE
MAYBOROUGH
BROUGHAM CASTLE
ARTHUR'S ROUND TABLE
COCKERMOUTH
CASTLERIGG STONE CIRCLE
KESWICK
SHAP ABBEY
BROUGH CASTLE
EGREMONT
AMBLESIDE
EGGLESTONE ABBEY
BOWES CASTLE
DARLINGTON
BISHOP AUCKLAND
TEES MOUTH
REDCAR
GISBOROUGH PRIORY

Sketch I

between the Forth and the Clyde. In the reign of Commodus and after his murder in 192 A.D. troubles followed and the Northern Frontier was undefended with the result that much of the wall was destroyed as well as Roman works as far South as York and Chester (*Deva*). One can notice this damage all along the Hadrian's wall. Albinus was defeated in 197 A.D. by Septimius Severus who bought off the Northern invaders. Severus repaired the wall, fought several campaigns against the Scots, though with doubtful success, and re-established the Hadrian's wall as a firm boundary. Repair-work which he started on the wall continued to outposts in the North and such work went on till 235 A.D. Severus came to be hailed almost as the builder of the Hadrian's Wall. The Wall of Hadrian thenceforward continued as a powerful bulwark—though there were some periods of trouble until 383, when Magnus Maximus led the army of Britain on to the Continent against Gratian, and the wall was either entirely evacuated or left with a mere token garrison to man it. The wall has no military history after 383 A.D. and order was kept in the district by the frontier tribes of the Lowlands.

The Hadrian's Wall was thus an important *Military work* for about 250 years. As one passes along the Wall one finds that it is not a mere wall but a group of parallel interconnecting defence-lines, the Wall itself being a defence-line, stretching from Wallsend on the East to Bowness on the Solway Firth, 12 miles west of Carlisle (see Sketch 1). Wallsend is 3 miles East of New Castle. The total length of the wall is 73½ miles. The defence lines display a fortification system which consists primarily of a stone wall, originally 15 ft. high, with a rampart walk on top protected by a parapet which brought the whole up to 20 ft. Its maximum thickness is about 9 ft. 6 in. In front, that is to the north, of it is a wide and deep V-shaped ditch, except in those places where the wall stands on the edge of a precipitous crag. The construction of the Wall varies slightly in its different lengths, and west of the river Irthing, where the limestone ceases, it was originally built of turf, which was later replaced by stone.

Three types of buildings are associated with the Wall at almost regular intervals. The *first type* which were the largest, were *forts* 3 to 7 miles apart which generally projected beyond the Wall. They held garrisons of 500 to 1,000 cavalrymen or infantry. Secondly, at every Roman mile

(=1618 yards) there was a "Block House" or "Mile Castle" holding about 40 men. These "Block Houses" had no projection on the north side but were similar to the forts of the first type in that they had gateways opening northwards. This proves that the Hadrian's Wall was at once a defence-line as well as a base for offensives against the enemy. The third type of buildings associated with the wall consists of *turrets*. Between each pair of block houses were two turrets about 540 yards apart. The turrets were obviously "Watch Towers" used for signalling messages along the wall. Behind tbese works and connecting them ran a service road, now called the *Military way*. At varying distances, but normally about 60 or 80 yards to the south of the stone wall, came the earthwork which has been called the *Vallum*. In its original state it was some 120 ft. across, and its central strand, is a ditch, 20 ft. wide and 10 ft. deep, with a flat area eight feet across at the bottom. Thirty feet away on each side of the ditch, and parallel with it, is a mound 20 ft. wide—so that the *Vallum* consists of five strands which, from north to south, are mound, level, ditch, level, and mound. It was intended to be, a non-military boundary policed by military patrols, a demarcation as opposed to a defence. It is the southern boundary of the military zone. South of the *Vallum*, again, runs *Stanegate*, connected by supply roads to the forts of the wall. Thus the Hadrian's wall started and ended at sea level and rose in its central sector at Winshields to 1,230 ft. Its course can still be traced and in the higher and wilder areas it stands forth to-day as William Camden described it in the 16th Century, "Verily I have seen the tract of it over the high pitches and steepe descents of hilles, wonderfully rising and falling." The Wall is not now as it was in Roman times. In parts it is only visible to the eye of archaeological faith. Little of it remains at Wallsend—where the site of *Sepedunum*, the most easterly of the Wall forts, is occupied by a ship-building yard —or in Newcastle and its suburbs.

Westwards of Newcastle, though subsidiary works, especially the Vallum, are often visible, the Wall itself lies under the main Carlisle road until just east of the crossing of the North Tyne about four miles north of Hexham. A little to the west of this point the road diverges from the Wall, which then runs for some 12 miles through wild country, along the northern edge of the steep whinstone escarpment known as the

Great Whin Sill. This is where the Wall is most complete and most impressive.

Even here, however, the Wall is to-day less than half its original height, seldom rising above 6 ft.; yet its line with "mile-castle" and "turrets" and the fort of *Borcovicium* (which now belongs to the National Trust), is plain to see. After crossing the Irthing near Gilsland both the original turf wall and the stone wall which replaced it are visible for some two miles. Beyond that the Wall passes through the densely populated parts of Cumberland, and again becomes a subject for archaeological investigation.

The British Ministry of works have now charge of the "Roman Wall and Vallum Preservation Scheme", begun in 1938 and confirmed in 1943. This scheme takes in the central sector from near Chesters on the North Tyne almost to Carvoran foot, a little to the east of Gilsland, and the land immediately adjoining. Moreover, the whole of the Wall and its subsidiary works are scheduled as "ancient monuments", and a number of particular sites are under the charge of the Ancient Monuments Division of the Ministry of Works. These include several *mile-castles, turrets,* and stretches of wall; the Roman town of *Corstorpitum*, near Corbridge, which acted as supply base for much of the eastern half of the Wall; and the fort of *Vindolanda,* on the Stanegate 10 miles west of Hexham, which was not one of the actual Wall forts, but a supporting fort which may have been a kind of divisional headquarters.

A serious threat to the Wall was noticed in recent years by large scale quarrying. To most Archaeologists in India this is a familiar sight by the side of Indian monuments. It was explained to me in Newcastle that some 20 years ago quarrying became active and that during the second World-War, when a sudden immediate need for whinstone arose, which could not easily be obtained elsewhere, several hundred yards of the Wall were allowed to suffer destruction. Thanks to prompt Government action, this danger no longer exists. I was amused to hear that one of the charges that the Ancient Monuments Branch of the British Ministry of Works had to answer was that in their zeal to preserve the Hadrian's Wall, they were robbing willing workers of their employment by not permitting the stones to be removed for other constructions. I may mention in passing that the quarriers of stone near the

cave temples of Vijayawada (Madras Province), hold out a similar charge against the Department of Archaeology, though it is well known that stone quarrying near Vijayawada has damaged some cave monuments *e.g.*, the *Śiva Tāṇḍava* Cave near Mogul-Rajapuram).

To most of the Archaeologists and pilgrims that joined the tour of Hadrian's Wall in July 1949, it was an intellectual and emotional treat, an experience of contemplating "the greatest and most impressive relic of the Roman Frontier System of Britain". India has a rich heritage; her monuments are varied and many. And many more are the votaries and devotees of her art treasure-houses. Shall we have such tours to our monuments regularly?—is my pious hope.

KING HARIRĀJA OF BUNDELKHAND

BY

DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, *Ootacamund*.

The village of Ichchhāwar (popularly called Nichchhāwar) in the Banda District of the Uttar Pradesh is believed to mark the site of an ancient town in Bundelkhand. In *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIV, 1895, part i, pp. 159 ff., V. A. Smith and W. Hoey published an account of three early brass (or *ashṭa-dhātu*) statuettes of the Buddha, which had been found in the ruins of Dhanesar Kherā to the west of the above village and were purchased by Hoey. The ruins of Dhanesar Kherā no doubt point to the existence of a great Buddhist establishment in that locality in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. Two of the three images referred to were found to bear small inscriptions on the pedestal. Both the inscriptions were read and interpreted by Smith and Hoey. One of the inscriptions says that the image, on which it is engraved, was the *deyadharma* (meritorious gift) of an *upāsikā* (a female lay follower of Buddhism) whose name was read as Vedikā. The eye-copy (Plate IX), published along with the paper by Smith and Hoey, is, however, not satisfactory enough to verify the reading of the *upāsikā's* name. The other inscription, which is more interesting, can fortunately be clearly read from the eye-copy (*loc. cit*). The inscription can be assigned to a date about the beginning of the fifth century A. D. on palaeographic grounds. It says that the image in question was the meritorious gift of Mahādevī, the queen of Harirāja who was born in the Gupta family. The name of Harirāja was, however, wrongly read as *Hariḍāsa* by Smith and Hoey.

The text of the inscription in two lines runs as follows:

1. Deya-dharmmo-y a[ṁ*] Gupta-vaṅś-o(vaṁś-o)ditaśrī-Harirājasya ra(rā)jñī(jñyā) Mahādevyā [ḥ] (||*) yad-attra puṇya [ṁ*] tad-bhavatu
2. sa [rvva]-sa[tvānā][ṁ*] māta(tā)-pitṛi-pū[rvva ṅgama(me)na anuttara-pada-jñāna(nā)vāptaye(||*)

Translation: "This (*i.e.* the image of the Buddha on which the record is incised) is the meritorious gift of Mahādevī who

is the queen of the illustrious Harirāja, born in the Gupta family; whatever religious merit there is in it, let it be for the attainment of the supreme position and knowledge of all sentient beings headed by the parents (of the queen)".

Little is known about this Harirāja, who was no doubt a ruler probably of the Banda area, from any other source. He seems to have claimed descent from the imperial Guptas of Magadha—whose dominions included Bundelkhand since the conquest of Central India by Samudragupta about the middle of the fourth century. We know that, from the time of the assumption of imperial dignity by Chandragupta I (about 320 A. D.), his descendants assumed names ending with the word *gupta*. Thus, if Harirāja was a scion of the Gupta dynasty, his name is expected to have been Harigupta. But we also know that the second name of Chandragupta II is given as both Devagupta and Devarāja (*Select Inscriptions*, pp. 273-420). The name *Harirāja* therefore does not go against the ruler being a scion of the imperial Gupta house, although he may also have claimed descent from the Guptas through his mother. The Guptas were staunch Brahmanists. Harirāja's wife was no doubt a Buddhist; but the king himself may have been a follower of the Brahmanical faith. We have numerous other instances of a marriage between the followers of Buddhism and Brahmanism.

Harirāja of the Ichchhāwar inscription apparently ruled over the Banda region in Bundelkhand as a viceroy of the Gupta emperor of Pāṭaliputra. The overlord of Harirāja may have been either Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (A.D. 376-414) or the latter's son Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya (A.D. 414-55). It appears that his headquarters lay at the ancient city, the modern representative of which is the village of Ichchhāwar, findspot of the inscription under notice.

The Nachne-ki-talai and Ganj inscriptions (Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 1709-10) show that Bundelkhand formed a part of the Vākāṭaka empire and was under the rule of Vyāghrarāja, feudatory or viceroy of Pṛithivīsena I. The Vākāṭaka monarch Prithvīsena I, was a contemporary of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II, as his son Rudrasena II is known to have married Prabhāvatī, daughter of Chandragupta II. The find of the Eran (Saugor District, Madhya Pradesh) stone pillar inscription (*ibid.*, No. 1539) of Samudragupta as

well as the details of the conquests of this Gupta monarch in Central India as known from his Allahabad pillar inscription (*ibid*., No. 1538) suggest that Vākāṭaka rule in Bundelkhand was overthrown by Samudragupta himself. It is thus possible to think Samudragupta extirpated the house of Vyāghrarāja, subordinate to the Vākāṭakas, and established a member of his own family in Bundelkhand and that Harirāja of the Ichchhāwar inscription was a scion of this viceregal Gupta house of Bundelkhand.

PAṄKTIPURA

BY

DR. G. S. GAI, *Dharwar*.

Dr. H. D. Sankalia has edited an interesting copper-plate inscription of the king Ravivarman of the imperial dynasty of the Kadambas.[1] The grant, which is dated in the 12th year of the king's reign, is stated to have been issued from *Vijaya-Paṅktīpura*. About this place-name the editor of the above article remarks: "Most noteworthy is the name of the place whence the grant is issued. It is called Vijayapaṅktipura. If this were to be identified with Vaijayantī or Banavāsi of the earlier or contemporary inscriptions it would be an unheard of and totally new name of that place. Could it be another name of Vijayapura, which occurs only once in an inscription from Amarāvati? As far as Kadamba inscriptions are concerned, Vaijayantī is mentioned 9 times, usually as Vijaya-Vaijayantī and thrice in the records of Ravivarmā himself. So probably Vijaya-paṅktipura might be another form of Vaijyantī."[2]

It may be pointed out that as in the case of *Vijaya-Vaijayantī*, so also in *Vijaya-Panktipura*, the word *Vijaya* qualifies the following word which gives the place-name and means victorious *Paṅktipura*. This is the most common style to be found in the copper-plate grants and the locative case in *Vijaya-Paṅktīpure* corresponds with that in *Vijaya-Vaijayantyām*. This locative may give the sense of the ablative case and the expression means 'from the victorious *Vaijayantī* or from the victorious *Paṅktipura*, etc.', since many instances are found with the fifth case suffix. (*cf*. also the expression *Vijaya-skandhāvārāt* met with in several records).

As regards the identification of the place *Paṅktipura*, it may be said that this name appears in the form of *Pāntipura*, or *Pānthīpura* in later records[3] and Pānthipura has been identified with the area including and roundabout modern

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1. *New. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV. pp. 178-81.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
3. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 251.

Hangal in Dharwar District, which was known to be the capital of the branch of the Kadambas of Hangal. In this connection, it is important to note that a copper-plate grant of the early Kadamba king Kṛishṇavarman II, (discovered at Akki-Ālūr, a village near Hangal) registers the gift of the village *Kiṛukuppudūr* situated in the *Vishaya*, which has been read as *Pāntipura*, by Sri R. S. Panchamukhi, the editor of the plates.[4] An examination of the printed Facsimile as well as of the original plates would show that the name of this *Vishaya* has to be read as Pamktipura and not as Pantipura, the consonant cluster being *kt* instead of *nt*,[5] while there is an *anusvāra* above *pā*. This *Paṅktipura* is evidently the same as *Paṅktipura* of the grant of Ravivarman which, as stated above, has to be identified with the area comprising modern Hangal in Dharwar District and not with the Vaijayantī (modern Banavāsi), the erstwhile capital of the main branch of the early Kadambas.

4. Digest of An. Rep. on Kan. Res. in Bombay Province, 1940-41, p. 5 and text.

5. I am indebted to Sri Panchamukhi for having showed me the original plates which enabled me to confirm my reading. For the difference between *nt* and *kt*, see the words *sāmanta*, *śāntāya* in lines 6 and 8, and the words *sayukto*, *uktañca* in line 13 of the text of the same inscription.

I am also obliged to Dr. Sankalia who gave me an offprint of his paper which stimulated my interest in the subject discussed above.

EARLY REFERENCE TO ŚĀLIVĀHANA AND THE ŚAKA ERA

by

Dr. G. S, Gai, *Dharwar*

In my article on *Śālivāhana and the Śaka Era* published in Vol. XVII, pp. 92-3 of this Journal, I have pointed out that the earliest instance of the use of the name *Śālivāhana* in connection with the *Śaka* era is furnished by the Tasgaon plates of the Deogiri Yadava king Kṛṣṇa, dated in *Śaka* 1172 or 1251 A.C., as against the date *Śaka* 1276 or 1354 A.C. of the Harihar copper-plate grant of Bukkarāya I referred to by Fleet and Prof. Mirashi. During my recent studies, however, I have come across a still earlier instance of this use which is furnished not by an epigraphical record but by a literary work. This work is called *Udbhaṭakāvyaṁ* written by the poet Somarāja in Kannaḍa language.[1] It is surmised that this poet hails from some part of western India. His work relates to the description of the hero Udbhaṭadēva *alias* Kumārapāla Ghūrjara who is sought to be identified with the Gujarat Chalukya king Kumārapāla who was the successor of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja and who is known to have ruled from 1144-1174 A. C.[2] In this *Udbhaṭakāvyaṁ* the poet informs us that he composed his work when 1144 years of the era known as *Śālivāhana Śaka* had elapsed. So we get here the name *Śālivāhana* connected with the Śaka era and the English equivalent of the date would be 1222 A. C., *i.e.* about 30 years earlier than the date of Tasgaon plates (1251 A. C.) referred to above. Thus *Udbhaṭakāvyaṁ* of Somarāja which is assigned to the year 1222 A. C. affords the earliest instance of the use of *Śālivāhana* coupled with *Śaka* era in a date known so far. It must, however, be noted that while the earliest instance is furnished by this literary work, the Tasgaon plates supply the earliest epigraphical reference.[3]

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1. Edited by R. Shama Sastry, Mysore, 1921.
2. The Glory that was Gūrjaradēśa, part III, p. 183.
3. It may be interesting to note that while the Tasgaon plates give the name of *Śālivāhana* and the *Śaka* era in the very first verse of the record, the *Udbhaṭakāvyaṁ* of Sōmarāja uses this name in the very last verse of the work. And both the verses referred to are in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre.

THE THREE RECENSIONS OF THE VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA

Addenda and Corrigenda

by

C. Bulcke, S. J., Ranchi

In my article of the above title in J.O.R., Madras, XVII. i. pp. 1—32, the following additions and corrections may be noted:

Bāla Kāṇḍa. C. Other Differences. Add—

1. The Bengali recension (Cf. sarga 10), as well as the North-Western recension (Cf. sarga 9), clearly state that Daśaratha gave his own daughter Śāntā to childless Lomapāda. The Southern recension describes Romapāda as related by *sakhya* and *sambandhaka* with Daśaratha (Cf. sarga 11, verse 17); the word *sambandhaka* may possibly be an allusion to Daśaratha's gift. But if we have to judge from the Southern recension, only Śāntā has to be considered the daughter of Romapāda, because the word *sambandhaka* can mean friend and does not necessarily mean relation. Elsewhere in the Southern recension Śāntā is mentioned as the daughter of Romapāda (Cf. sarga 9, verse 16).

2. The Northern recensions consider Bharata to be junior to Lakṣmaṇa (Cf. B. I, 19, 10) whereas the Southern recension holds that Lakṣmaṇa is junior to Bharata. There is, however, one passage in the Southern recension which seems to imply that Bharata was junior to Lakṣmaṇa; viz. where Bharata greets Rama and Lakṣmaṇa after the defeat of Rāvaṇa (Cf. VI, 12, 41).

No 68. (End) Delete: "that his name was formerly Tumburu and".

No 103. Add: In the Southern recension Hanumān meets Maināka, Surasā and Siṁhikā. In the Nothern recensions the sequence is Surasā, Maināka and Siṁhikā.

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

I

Sixth Foundation Day

The Sixth Foundation Day of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute was celebrated in the grounds of the Madras Sanskrit College, Mylapore, on Saturday, 19th August 1950, with the Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. Patanjali Sastri, Judge, Supreme Court, in the chair.

After Prayer, Dr. V. Raghavan read messages received for the success of the function from the Vishveshwaranand Vedic Research Institute, E. Punjab; Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay; Ecole Francaise d' Extreme-Orient, Hanoi, Indo-China; Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati; Sri P. Tirugnanasambandham, Principal, Rajah's College of Sanskrit and Tamil Studies, Tiruvadi; Sri M. Lakshminarasimhayya, Professor of Sanskrit, Mysore University; Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad; Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist, Ooty; and Dr. D. C. Sircar and Sri M. Venkataramayya of the Epigraphy Department.

Report of Work :—Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer presented the report of the working of the Institute for the year 1949-50. The full report will be published separately in the Triennial Report of the Institute.

Publication :—*The Kuppuswami Sastri Memorial Volume.*—Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer announced that on the occasion of the Sixth Foundation Day they were publishing the Kuppuswami Sastri Memorial Volume.

Foundation Day Address :—Prof. D. S. Sarma then delivered the Foundation Day Address and spoke on Literary Criticism in Sanskrit and English. In his Address, Prof. Sarma, one of the intimate friends of Kuppuswami Sastri, said:

"Whatever may be my subject, speaking on the Foundation Day of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, I cannot but refer at the outset to the personality and the work of the great scholar, after whom this institution is named—especially, as I think I have some *adhikāra* for doing so. I had the honour of being an intimate personal friend as well as a colleague of the Professor in the Presidency College for about

twenty years. And so in referring to Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppuswami Sastri it will be difficult for me to avoid striking a personal note. And I hope I shall be excused if sometimes I seem to be somewhat transgressing my limits.

"The Professor was, of course, an encyclopaedic scholar, whose name was wellknown in all academic circles throughout India and even abroad. Therefore the friendship between him and me was something of the nature of an intimacy between a giant and a pigmy. Nevertheless, the pigmy could take liberties with the giant, which the giant's equals or followers could never dream of doing. Even some of his old students—themselves scholars deserving the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya—used to be astonished and, at times, considerably embarrassed at the familiarity with which I spoke to the Professor, and the smiling indulgence which he always showed to me. I used to chafe him frequently for overworking himself after nightfall. For, while the Presidency College, where we worked, closed normally at 4 P.M., he used to hold his classes till six, and then meet and discuss matters with his research scholars till eight and then begin to do his office work and go home only at about 9 P.M. I used to tell him that he might profitably follow the example of some lesser men and take a walk along the beach regularly in the evenings and improve his health, instead of ruining his constitution by working till nine in the night and going to bed only after twelve. He would laugh and promise to follow my advice from the next day, but never kept his promise. The result is a great national loss.

"The Professor did not live very long after his retirement from the Annamalai University. He was only sixty-two when he passed away. If he had conserved his health and strength, he could easily have lived another ten or fifteen years, and, being freed from the routine work of teaching classes, could very well have left some enduring monuments of his great erudition. But, as it is, he did not live even to finish his edition of Dhvanyāloka. It is only rarely that a country throws up scholars of Prof. Kuppuswami Sastriar's magnitude and versatility, for he was not only well versed in the four traditional Śāstras of Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta, but also had a profound knowledge of literature and literary criticism. Again, he not only possessed the massive learning of our Pandits, but was

also well acquainted with the critical methods of modern Western scholars. No wonder, therefore, that with his equipment he gave a mighty impetus to Sanskrit studies in our University, and has left behind him a band of scholars, who are trained in his methods and who are imbued with his ideals.

"And yet, we sadly miss his presence today, when so many misguided attempts are being made in this part of the country to belittle the importance of Sanskrit and put obstacles in the way of the younger generation acquiring a knowledge of its treasures. Had he been living now, he would have pleaded with the Government, with all the weight of his authority, to restore Sanskrit to its former place in the curriculam of our schools and would have accepted no compromise on the question. And, besides his massive learning, he had other qualifications for being a successful agitator in a good cause. He was an effective speaker in English as well as Sanskrit and was also well versed in party tactics, as is amply borne out by his campaigns in the Senate of the Madras University. And, above all, he had, to a remarkable degree, the quality of fearlessness. To him we may truly apply the words of Mahatma Gandhi,—"I fear no one on earth, I fear only God." It may be observed that his extraordinary courage and fearlessness were rooted in an important quality which formed the very basis of his character, namely, his spirit of renunciation. He once told me, while we two were sitting in the sands of the beach, that our ancients had bequeathed to us a priceless treasure, and that was the spirit of Sannyāsa, and he added that for our utilizing that bequest we need not shave our heads and put on kāṣāya. We could go about doing our humble duties as we are, but secretly clad in the celestial armour of renunciation and with our hearts free from fear. As I listened to him that night, I saw how the spirit of his Sannyāsin gurus had gone into the very marrow of his bones along with Sanskrit learning. In this connection we may remember how all the honours that came to him in life, namely, his official position, his rank, his titles and his worldly prosperity, all came to him unsought, as a just reward for his merit. He propitiated no gods—white or brown. He propitiated only the great Goddess of Learning. In fact, his whole life was one long, unbroken act of worship at the shrine of Sarasvatī.

"I said he feared no one on earth. But he had one fear always haunting his mind as a scholar, and that was the fear

of making any kind of inaccurate statement. Hence, though he had his vast knowledge at his fingers' ends, he would make himself doubly, even trebly, sure before he made a statement on any subject, and he would not mind the time spent on such careful verifications. As an illustration, I may here refer, at the risk of appearing too personal, to his revision of my translation of the Bhagavad Gītā. In 1927, after finishing my translation and making my ms. ready for the press, I casually mentioned it to my learned friend and asked him whether he could find time to go through it and suggest any improvements. To my surprise, he readily consented and took out all the commentaries on the Gītā in the Sanskrit Honours Library and asked me to meet him with my ms. every evening after seven in his room in the College. I was rather alarmed at the procedure he suggested. But there was no help for it. I had put my head into the lion's den and had to take the consequences. So I had to discuss with him, night after night, my rendering of all the 700 verses in the Gītā—he always striving for accuracy, and I for elegance and idiomatic English. I thought at first that the revision could be completed in three months at the most and that I could publish my translation before the end of the year. Actually, it took three years, and I could publish it with his approval only towards the end of 1930. The Professor rendered me similar help in connection with another book of mine—*A Primer of Hinduism*. I may say he tested almost every sentence in that book and saw that I did not swerve even by a hair's breadth from what he considered the correct doctrine. But for him, my *Primer* would have been much less orthodox and therefore much less acceptable to the Hindu public. These books of mine were not really worth his attention. They need not have consumed so much of his precious time. But he had taken me under his wings and could not brook the idea of any friend of his making any inaccurate statements, if he could help it.

"Apart from these books of mine, he was greatly interested in two of the subjects which I was then teaching in the English Honours classes, namely, Indo-Germanic Philology and English literary criticism. For he was anxious not only to be well acquainted with the critical methods of modern European scholars, but also to justify fully his official designation as Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology. For this purpose, he made a thorough study of Brugman's monumental

work on Indo-Germanic philology, and, with his extensive knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, he was in a more advantageous position, so far as the Idg. parent language was concerned, than Prof. Mark Hunter, the Head of the English Department, whose enthusiasm in those days gave a powerful stimulus to linguistic studies in our University. It is well known that the very science of Comparative Philology owes its origin to the discovery of Sanskrit by European scholars. Professor Kuppuswami Sastriar made himself so proficient in Idg. Philology with special reference to Sanskrit that, when any of our English Honours students took that subject, as an alternative to 'Special Period' in English Literature, we used to send them to him for instruction."

The further portion of Prof. Sarma's Address, which formed his valuable paper on Literary Criticism in Sanskrit and English, and which, at the request of Dr. A. Sankaran, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras, was re-delivered at the Presidency College, has been published in separate book form by the Institute.

Vidvan Purushottama Naidu, Junior Lecturer in Tamil, University of Madras, then spoke in Tamil on the religious and literary importance of *Divya Prabandham*, the sacred Vaishnava hymns, which he showed were a Tamil replica of the Upanishads.

President's Speech

Mr. Patanjali Sastri said that though his acquaintance with the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppuswami Sastriar was not intimate, he knew of his scholarship. It was the opinion of Sri Kuppuswami Sastriar that the learning of the traditional pandit was defective, however profound it might be in any particular subject. His idea was that Sanskrit learning must be comprehensive and the pandit should attain mastery over all the branches of Sanskrit learning, and to that end he devised the new courses to include practically all the subjects of Sanskrit learning. He also introduced methods of criticism of the Western Indologists. That was how to-day we had the curriculum of the Siromani course in the Madras University. Sri Kuppuswami Sastriar reorganised the honours degree course and the Oriental Title course and succeeded in persuading the University of Madras to make the study of Sanskrit compulsory in the college classes, though it was altered later. If today Sri Kuppuswami Sastriar had been alive, with his zeal and

zest for Sanskrit learning, he would certainly have persuaded the educational authorities to make the study of Sanskrit compulsory even in the high school and college classes. It was an erroneous action, Mr. Patanjali Sastri said, that while English, a foreign language, was made compulsory in our schools, Sanskrit in which was embedded the whole of our cultural heritage should be accorded the status of an "optional" language. It was wrong to think, he said, that Sanskrit was the language of any particular community. In Northern India, Sanskrit learning was held in very high esteem and Kayasthas and other castes had also attained proficiency in it. In Madras State itself, people on the West Coast had attained a high degree of literacy in it. As a Kayastha put it, Sanskrit and prestige went hand in hand in this country. He, therefore, urged that Sanskrit should be accorded a higher status in the educational curriculum as it was the greatest cementing force in the country. For this one reason at least, it should be made a compulsory subject of study.

Mr. Patanjali Sastri continuing said that he shared the regret expressed in the Memorial Volume that Sri Kuppuswami Sastriar had not produced learned original works. Book-making was an art and somehow, Mr. Patanjali Sastri said, that we in the South seemed to be lacking in it, not merely in the sphere of Sanskrit but also in the sphere of law. While the standard of learning in Madras was high, he said, production of literary works here was meagre. The reason for Sri Kuppuswami Sastriar not producing many books was his devotion to teaching-work. A born *ācārya*, he deserved the title of "Mahāmahopādhyāya", for even those who studied under him had today each more than a hundred other disciples. Compared to other institutes in North India, the Kuppuswami Sastri Institute, Mr. Patanjali Sastri said, was in its infancy, but he found from the Report that it had, even so, accomplished much. The view had been expressed that its work was hampered for want of funds. He would endorse the appeal of the Secretary for funds in this connection and hoped for a generous response.

Regarding the work of the Institute, Mr. Patanjali Sastri said that in its publications so far, attention had not been devoted to Vedic literature, as much as to classical works, the humanities, the *Kāvyas* and the *Nāṭakas*. Vedic literature,

which had been a sealed book even to most Sanskrit students, had not been adequately dealt with. In fact, that was the field of research which was vast and where workers had so far been few. He wished that some scholars belonging to this Institute would turn their attention more and more to the systematic study of the Vedas. It was also necessary to do work on the Purāṇas and Vedāṅgas. The field was vast and it called for workers with zeal and enthusiasm. What had so far been done in the field was readily attributable to Western savants. "We Indian scholars," Mr. Patanjali Sastri said, "were in a much more advantageous position to deal with the Vedas than foreign scholars, and so this work must be undertaken by us."

Mr. K. Balasubrahmania Aiyar proposed a vote of thanks.

General Body Meeting

Earlier in the evening the annual General Body Meeting of the Institute was held in the premises of the Institute, Sri Chandrasekharendra Sarasvati Mandapam.

Sri K. S. Ramaswami Sastri presided. Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer presented the Annual Report and audited Statement of Accounts for 1949-50. On the motion of the chair, seconded by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, the Report and Accounts and the Budget for the year 1950-51 were adopted.

It was resolved that the existing office-bearers be re-elected and that Sri T. K. Rajagopala Iyer, Retd. Accountant-General and Life Member of the Institute, be elected to the Governing Body.

Sri V. Swaminathan, B.A., G.D.A., was re-elected Hony. Auditor for the coming year.

II

LECTURE BY DR. S. L. HORA

On 25th September 1950, Dr. Sunder Lala Hora, Director of the Zoological Survey of India, delivered under the Institute's auspices in the Ranade Hall, Mylapore, a very interesting lecture on "Science in Ancient Indian Literature." Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri was in the chair.

At the outset, a condolence resolution touching the demise of Prof. M. Hiriyanna of Mysore was moved from the chair.

Dr. Hora spoke about his findings in the field of Zoological knowledge of Ancient Indians, as borne out by some of

the observations in Asoka's edicts, his paper on which subject was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta*, XVI. i. 1950, pp. 43-56; he dealt with also his latest findings from a study of the Matsyavinoda section of King Someśvara's Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi, his paper on which had been submitted to the same Journal. He touched upon also the information available in Cola inscriptions, particularly on the management of local tank fisheries, and commended to the popular Government of the day the practice of ancient kings like the Colas, who realised the value of a network of tanks and small irrigation schemes.

Sri N. Raghunatha Iyer thanked Dr. Hora for his illuminating address.

III

PROF. M. HIRIYANNA CONDOLENCE MEETING

Jointly with the Madras Samskrita Academy, the Institute held a special meeting on 18th October 1950 to express condolence on the demise of Prof. M. Hiriyanna of Mysore, who was chairman of the Research Committee of the Institute. Prof. P. N. Srinivasachariar presided.

Dr. V. Raghavan read a message from Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan in which he stated that to Prof. Hiriyanna, "Philosophy was not only a view of life but also a way of life."

The Chairman said that Prof. Hiriyanna was a profound scholar in Sanskrit, Kannada and English. Though apparently conservative, he had a modern outlook. He was free from prejudices and kept an open mind always. He belonged to the rare type of introspective men. His profound scholarship was equalled only by his humility and reasonableness. He was a wise man and a true philosopher. He might be described as a "great spectator of life," and one who, while withdrawing from public life, was yet vitally interested in it. The speaker stressed the excellence of Prof. Hiriyanna's works and said that in him they found the rare combination of *Viveka, Vinaya* and love of idealism.

Prof. D. S. Sarma said the late Prof. Hiriyanna was an embodiment of the description found in the Gītā "*Vidyāvinayasampanna*"—profound learning combined with utter humility. A very noteworthy feature of his life was the complete integration of his life and teachings. He accepted the religious tradition he had inherited and tried to re-live in

accordance with the spirit of that tradition. Prof. Sarma hoped that Prof. Hiriyanna's latest work, "Indian Philosophy of Values," would be soon published, after Dr. S. Radhakrishnan had gone through the manuscript as desired by the late Professor. Besides his translations of the Upaniṣads etc. and his original works, he had written beautiful reviews of books for "The Hindu". Prof. Sarma expressed the hope that the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute would take steps to collect and publish all his papers and reviews.

Dr. A. Sankaran said that Prof. Hiriyanna was correct and concise in his writings.

Pandit H. Sesha Iyengar who knew the Professor from his early days narrated a few anecdotes to stress the late Professor's affection towards his students and his readiness to help the poor by paying even the school-fees of some of them. One of the notable features of his scholarly life was that he went to the *Ācāryas* of the respective schools of philosophy to master their systems.

Mr. K. Balasubrahmania Aiyar said that the Madras Samskrita Academy and the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute were greatly indebted to Prof. Hiriyanna. He had bequeathed his library to the Institute and his grandson, Mr. Anantaswami Rao, would be shortly handing over the volumes to them. Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri and Prof. Hiriyanna had rendered great service to the Sanskrit world. Mr. Balasubrahmania Aiyar referred to the humility of Prof. Hiriyanna and said that he would not personally come and accept the title "*Samskrita Sevā Dhurīṇa*" which the Samskrita Academy conferred on him, and so the title had to be eventually conferred on him *in absentia*.

The gathering stood in silence and passed a resolution placing on record the deep sense of sorrow and loss sustained by the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute and the Madras Samskrita Academy, and the world of Indology in general, in the demise of Prof. Hiriyanna, "one of the foremost scholars in Sanskrit and Indian Philosophy", and conveying the heartfelt sympathies of the gathering to the members of the bereaved family.

Prof. Srinivasachari endorsed the appeal of Prof. D. S. Sarma for the collection and publication of the papers and reviews written by Prof. Hiriyanna.

IV

LECTURE BY DR. H. I. POLEMAN

On 28th October 1950, Dr. Horace Isaac Poleman, Cultural Attache, American Embassy, New Delhi, spoke at the Institute on "Sanskrit Studies in America." Sri N. Raghunatha Ayyar, Assistant Editor, *The Hindu*, and Member, Governing Body of the Institute, was in the chair.

In introducing Dr. Poleman to the audience, Dr. V. Raghavan, Secretary, said that the guest of the evening hailed from the country which gave to the world of Oriental Research such pioneers as Whitney, Bloomfield and Lanman. He referred to the place occupied in Indic studies by the *Harvard Oriental Series*, *Columbia University Series*, the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* and other Research publications from America. Dr. Horace Isaac Poleman, he said, was a student of Prof. Norman Brown of Pennsylvania University; he took his Doctorate in Nārāyaṇa's Antyeṣṭipaddhati, and it was interesting to note, he added, that Dr. Poleman's wife was now continuing her husband's interest in the study of Hindu Saṁskāras; she was working at Delhi now on the same Nārāyaṇa's Prayogaratna. Dr. Poleman was working in the Indian section of the Library of Congress, Washington, and recalling his association with him for over a decade, Dr. Raghavan referred to the continuous assistance that Dr. Poleman gave him in maintaining contact between the work going on in India and America in the field of bibliography, cataloguing of manuscripts, music, etc. Dr. Poleman published through *Archives Orientalia* in 1946 his review of *Middle Eastern Studies in U. S. for* 1939-46, but his most important production which Dr. Raghavan said was in constant use by him for his New Catalogus Catalogorum work, was *A Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, (American Oriental Series 12), 1938, which described over 7,000 Mss. in Sanskrit and other Indian languages preserved in the different American libraries. This was the third visit of Dr. Poleman to India, his first visit being in 1939 when he popularised the microfilming of Mss., and the second being during the recent war when he collected Gramophone records in all the regional languages of India. Dr. Raghavan hoped that, as Cultural Attache to the American Embassy in India, Dr. Poleman would

promote the cause of Oriental Studies and the cultural collaboration between Indian and American scholars.

CHAIRMAN'S OPENING REMARKS

Welcoming Dr. Poleman and others, Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar said that he was particularly happy that Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, President of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, was present at the function. America, he said, found India rather in a different way from how Europe found them. Europe travelled towards Sanskrit through philology and latterly, through anthropology. But America, particularly American poets, seemed to have discovered Indian culture rather intuitively. Since Emerson and Eliot, there had been a sustained stream of sympathy for Indian culture. The scholars who had taken their cue from these poets could not possibly go wrong; at any rate, that was what they in this country felt.

DR. POLEMAN'S LECTURE

Dr. Poleman observed that the study of Sanskrit in the West was the result of European invasion and the discovery of that language. Most of the Sanskrit works in the West had resulted from the emphasis which Western scholars put on philology. America studied European philology and that naturally led them to the study of Sanskrit. That study had produced great scholars like Whitney, Bloomfield, Hopkins, Gray and Jackson.

In his own generation, Dr. Poleman said, there were two serious students of Sanskrit in the United States. One was himself and the other was Dr. M. B. Emaneau. Dr. Emaneau on his return to America from his studies in India got a post in the University of California. He (Dr. Poleman) accepted a post in the Library of Congress. American interest in India, and Sanskrit particularly, was concentrated in small academic circles. These were eight in number, namely, the centre where John Hopkins worked and the Universities of Pennsylvania, Harvard, Yale, Princeton, California, Chicago and Columbia.

With the coming of the war, Dr. Poleman continued, the interest of American people was awakened in India. Consequently, besides the eight centres mentioned by him, 95 Universities had now provided courses on India and South-East Asia. Those courses, for the most part, were in political

science, sociology and to a certain extent history, religion, modern languages, geography and anthropology, and there was little or no interest in the older classical period.

SANSKRIT IN U. S. UNIVERSITIES

Dr. Poleman said that he was sorry to state that the eight centres of learning mentioned by him had reached a point where their future was uncertain. In the first centre, Dumont had retired and John Hopkins was not likely to continue. This great centre might disappear. In the University of Pennsylvania, a steady continuation of Sanskrit studies was assured largely due to the foundation there of the South-East Asian Institute. In Harvard University, Walter Clarke had retired and Ingulls had taken his place. Harvard was important because it was the centre from which the Oriental Series was being published. At the Yale University, which had in its background Whitney and Hopkins, Edgerton was retiring and there was no one to take his place. But, they could be sure that Harvard and Yale would continue their Sanskrit studies because they had endowed Chairs. One or both of these Universities might go abroad to find suitable replacements for Clarke and Edgerton. At Princeton, Mr. Atkins had put in considerable work on Vedic literature. Emaneau had taken the place of Ryder in California. He could not say what the future of Chicago and Columbia centres would be, because both Jackson and Gray had retired.

Proceeding, Dr. Poleman said that at a few Universities in the United States, Sanskrit studies had been added at elementary level. What Americans hoped was that some of them who liked the Sanskrit language would in the end revive interest in it which was now mainly centred in the eight Universities he had mentioned. Indo-European philology was no longer an impelling force in the study of Sanskrit. Linguisticians now were not interested in the study of ancient languages. Their interest was in the modern languages. In the University of Pennsylvania, courses were given in Gujarati, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu and most recently in some of the Dravidian languages and Sinhalese. This linguistic approach had not yet reached the literature of the languages.

Dr. Poleman further observed that the strength of Indic studies in the museums of America had not increased in the

last decade or two. Boston Museum had made some progress under the guidance of the late Mr. Ananda Coomaraswami. Their main interest was in anthropology and social studies. In the very near future the museums would be adding to their collections, particularly in the field of anthropology.

Proceeding, Dr. Poleman said that library interest in India and Sanskrit had not increased appreciably in America during the last decade, except at the Library of Congress and University of Pennsylvania both of which were buying heavily modern literature of India. There were 16 other outstanding centres of collections. In addition to them, 45 libraries were beginning to build a general collection in Western languages on Indian civilisation. The great difficulty of libraries in the United States and their inability to collect books, lay in the lack of bibliographical aids. Most of the libraries found it impossible to discover what was published in India. If they discovered, there was no channel of approach to get at them. This was a matter of great concern, and while he was in India, he would work on the problem of channels of approaches to Indian books and of bibliographical assistance.

AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTRE IN INDIA

The most recent development of interest in India in the widest sense on the part of Americans was the formation of the Joint Committee of South-East Asian Studies, of philologists, social scientists, linguisticians, etc. This Committee which was heavily subsidised had been formed to study the future course of work on India by scholars and the possible needs and directions of research. The first approach which they were going to put into effect, as soon as possible, was the establishment of a small centre in India for research studies, which would be called the American Research Institute. The place where it was to be established had not yet been determined. It would have a small beginning with great possibilities. In two or three years they hoped that the activities of this Institute would extend in the field of teaching with the co-operation of Indian scholars.

The second endeavour of the Joint Committee, Dr. Poleman said, would be to bring out exhaustive and adequate guides not only of the literature of India, but of secondary sources of history and other aspects of Indian culture, including modern and current periods. In this task, they would

need the active assistance of Indians. For this bibliographical endeavour, plans had been drawn up and the necessary financial support was also assured. This Joint Committee would also attempt new publications of American works in this field. In this connection, he said that Edgerton who had studied Mahāyāna Buddhistic literature had plans to bring out a grammar first, and then a lexicon of 'Buddhistic Sanskrit'. The Joint Committee of South-East Asian studies was also studying the future of instruction in America on India and South-East Asian area, and attempting to balance instruction in languages against instruction in other fields such as history, anthropology etc., and to determine which University was the best for the development of Indic studies. This Committee was publishing a bulletin and the speaker hoped to compile a list of names of people in India who would be interested in knowing what this Committee was doing.

Coming back to the question of the future of Sanskrit studies in America, Dr. Poleman observed that at the present moment it might look dark because elder men were retiring. They had not trained younger men to any great extent because of the fact that there was no real opportunity for younger men to make a living when they received their Doctorate in Sanskrit. The interest developing in America on the linguistic line had to a great extent drawn students away from the study of the classical period to the study of the modern period. For the continued work in Sanskrit studies in America they must depend mostly on the work in Sanskrit literature which Indians themselves did. He expressed the hope that people here would continue to bring out splendid editions of Sanskrit materials and also give wise commentaries and translations of the materials. He added that one of the purposes of the Joint Committee referred to by him would be to build up greater contacts between Americans and Indians; there was a programme for exchange of students, 200 from this area going to America and 200 from America coming to this area. Out of the 200, some would be students of Sanskrit. As a result of this, when more Americans came to India and studied Sanskrit, he hoped the future of Sanskrit studies in America would be assured.

In the course of the concluding remarks Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar said that when the conditions of Sanskrit scholars in India itself were scandalous, the reasons given by Dr. Poleman why very little work was done in America were perfectly

intelligible to them. On the other hand, the fact that some Universities were still persevering in this work might be regarded as a cause for satisfaction. Dr. Poleman and his wife were interesting themselves in "Karma Kāṇḍa", which they in India had practically deserted, and seemed to be bent upon reviving it. Let them hope that after Dr. Poleman and his wife had established the worthwhileness of it, they in India might find it possible to devote a little more attention to that subject.

Referring to the difficulties mentioned by Dr. Poleman in getting books from India and also getting proper bibliographies, Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar said that bibiographies were not being properly prepared for a variety of reasons. But, in respect of books, America could not expect to keep only a one-way traffic. In India, they did not get books from America and if they did get, it was on America's terms. Books were not at all sent out to India for review by American publishers and he was reliably told that this was due to the pact entered into between American and British publishers, under which India was reserved as a market for British publishing firms. There should be a two-way traffic and he hoped that Dr. Poleman would take up this question with his Government.

Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar thought that with a little encouragement more students might be induced to spend a year or two more in Institutions in America which provided Sanskrit studies. Dr. Poleman had also mentioned that 200 Indians were likely to be selected for studies in America. Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar hoped that the students so selected would be persons with some standing in their own chosen work. He also hoped that it would be possible to send at least a dozen men who were recognised as authorities in Sanskrit here. There were several persons, Pandits as well as modern scholars, who would do credit to any seat of learning. If some of the best men were selected, India might be able to help America in the way Dr. Poleman wanted India to help them.

Proposing a vote of thanks, Mr. K. Balasubramania Aiyar said that if cultural contact was established between real scholars in India and America the future of Sanskrit studies both in America and in India would be bright.

Mr. Balasubramania Aiyar also announced the release, on the occasion, of the publication "Literary Criticism in Sanskrit and English" by Prof. D. S. Sarma, by the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute.

V

THE GĪTĀ EXHIBITION

Jointly with the Madras Saṁskṛta Academy, the Institute organised and held on December 20, 21, 22, 1950, at the Madras Sanskrit College and Sri Chandrasekharendra Sarasvati Mandapam, an exhibition of editions and translations of the Bhagavadgītā published from all over the world.

Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, Madras University, opened the Exhibition before a record gathering. A continuous stream of visitors came to see the exhibition which created an unprecedented enthusiasm.

A complete account of the Exhibition, together with a Bibliography of Gītā Editions and Translations, based on the collection gathered for the Exhibition, is being prepared and will be issued as a separate book.

OBITUARY

PROF. M. HIRIYANNA

(7-5-1871 to 19-9-1950)

By

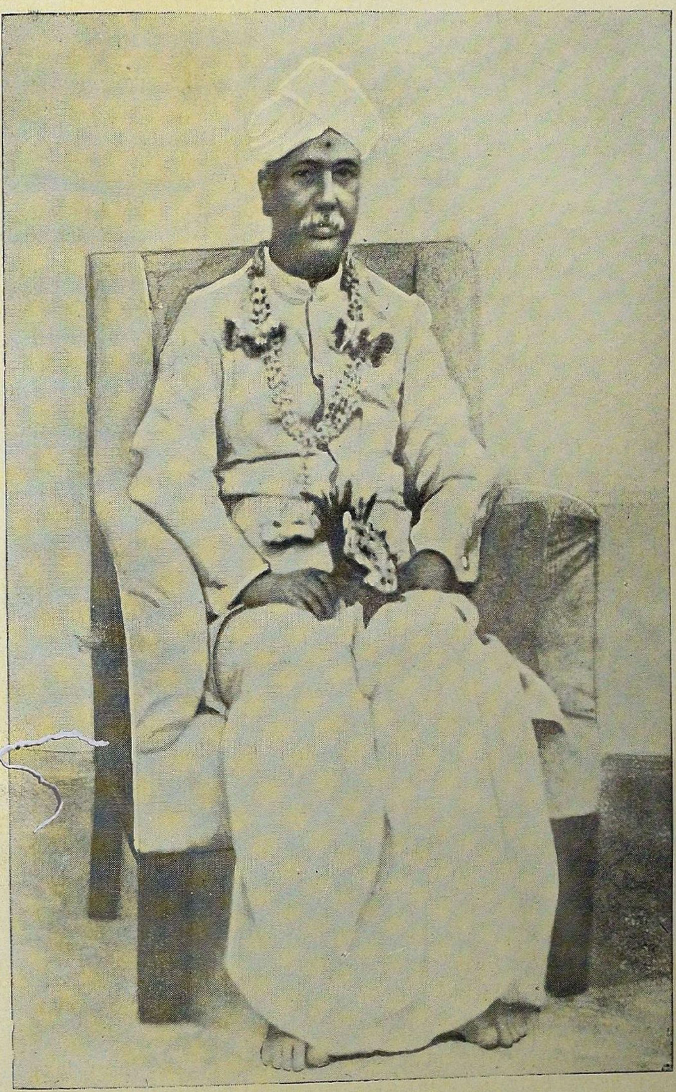
DR. V. RAGHAVAN

In the demise of Prof. M. Hiriyanna the world has lost a profound Sanskrit scholar, a correct and clear exponent of Indian Philosophy and a true embodiment of the highest ideals of Indian learning and culture. To those of us who were closely associated with him and to the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute in which he took active interest from its inception, the loss is personal. To many of us, students of Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, from whom we could never separate Prof. Hiriyanna, the late Professor was indeed another *guru*.

About eighty at the time of his demise, the late Professor was born on 7th May, 1871, as the eldest son of Mysore Nanjundaiya. He graduated from the Madras Christian College (B.A. and M.A.), and imbibed his Sanskrit erudition from his guru Sri Periasami Tirumalachariar. He was first appointed Librarian of the Government Oriental Library, Mysore, in 1891; he was then made Head Clerk in the Office of Education Secretary, Bangalore; in 1895, the Government of Mysore sent him for L. T. training at Saidapet; between 1896 and 1912, he was first Assistant Master and then Headmaster of Government Normal School, Mysore.

In September, 1912, he was appointed Assistant Lecturer in Sanskrit in the Maharaja's College, Mysore, Assistant Professor in the same institution in 1914, Officiating Professor of Sanskrit from December, 1917, and Professor of Sanskrit from July, 1918. In 1921 he was also Curator of the Government Oriental Library for a short period. He retired from the Mysore University in 1927.

After retirement he was more actively engaged in writing; he was connected with several Indian Universities as Examiner, and took part in the activities of learned societies like the All-India Oriental Conference and Indian Philosophical Congress. The former body honoured him with the Presidentship of the Indian Philosophy Section at the Mysore session and elected



PROF. M. HIRIYANNA

him General President for the XVI session, Lucknow (1951), but owing to his failing health he declined the honour; the latter body honoured him with the General Presidentship at its Hyderabad session. In appreciation of his services in the field of Sanskrit, the Madras Saṁskṛta Academy honoured him with the title of "Saṁskṛta Sevā Dhurīṇa". A Volume of Studies in his honour is being issued from Mysore.

A Bibliography of Prof. Hiriyanna's writings is given below.

Like Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri, Prof. Hiriyanna was both a *sahṛdaya* and a *śāstrajña*; in fact Hiriyanna's writings on Indian literary criticism and aesthetics are among the few papers of authority and usefulness in the field of Indian aesthetics written by one with a full mastery of Sanskrit, Alaṅkāra Śāstra and Philosophy. In acknowledging reprints of my articles or in reply to querries or in connection with his own papers he corresponded with me on points pertaining to Indian aesthetics and expressed himself as unconvinced about the school of criticism favoured by Dr. Coomaraswami, which I too followed, according to which art was a means of salvation. In śāstras it has been said by those who had first-hand knowledge of him in early years, that he sought authoritative teachers in the respective branches Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita etc. to master those systems. It is accepted on all hands that his exposition of the different darśanas was absolutely accurate.

As one who was privileged to enjoy personal contact with him, I desire to recall here some of the occasions when his remarkable behaviour, acts or words threw light on the superior nature of his personality and revealed interesting traits of his character, and also set forth some of the noteworthy features of his life, scholarly work and writings.

Prof. Hiriyanna, unlike Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri, did not take part in active public work in the cause of Sanskrit, and used all his time and energy for his literary work. In fact he avoided public appearances and shunned even the normal social functions like a group photo. I vividly remember now how at the close of the Mysore session of the All-India Oriental Conference where he was one of the Section Presidents, the office-bearers entreated him to sit in the Conference group photo and some of his own local friends and students like Dr. M. H. Krishna, the Local Secretary, even prostrated before him;

nothing could move Prof. Hiriyanna, who, in a short time, quietly disappeared towards his home.

More astonishing is the incident which our Professor Kuppuswami Sastri narrated to us regarding the firm self-abnegation of Hiriyanna: the Government of Mysore once overlooked his seniority, and when his own brother Sir M. N. Krishna Rao became shortly Dewan of the State, Prof. Hiriyanna insisted that his brother should not take the slightest effort to set matters aright. With a genial smile, he once went on narrating to me the only occasion when he felt a serious discomfiture: it was his habit never to be late even to his class; he never crossed an audience or an already crowded hall; he had made it a point to be in his class room earlier than the first student's arrival; but unfortunately only once he had to enter his class room five minutes late after the boys had assembled; and he gravely set forth what a complete damp this produced in him for quite a long time!

A great friend, a thorough gentleman and one who hurt none, Prof. Hiriyanna yet held his own when he was convinced of the shortcomings of anybody's scholarship, and pulled one's legs in a good-humoured and delicate manner, and expressed his opinion firmly. While, along with our Professor, some of us were Professor Hiriyanna's guests during the Mysore Oriental Conference, he opened the Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa and quietly asked its editor to give the meaning of the opening verse of that commentary! He was once a Judge along with our Professor for an M.O.L. thesis from a well-known Pandita of Madras, but he not only refused to agree to the award but proved the serious nature of some flaws in the thesis to the satisfaction of our Professor, with the result the board unanimously decided against the award. The significant fact that one notes in this is the gift to be critical without bitterness, to measure up men and yet be good, a quality which Vālmīki says Rāma possessed:

लोके पुरुषसारज्ञः साधुरेको विनिर्मितः ।

Another important feature of Prof. Hiriyanna's scholarly life was that he avoided controversies, either in person or in writing. When he was here in Madras for the Miller Lectures, on the second day, just before the lecture, in the New Examination Hall, the late Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, keen dialectician that he was, posed a point and went on arguing it

with Prof. Hiriyanna; the latter quietly told Prof. Sastri that that was all that he (Hiriyanna) knew, at which Prof. Sastri said that if one like him (Hiriyanna) should say so, all that people like himself (Sastri) could do was to prostrate at his feet.

Prof. Hiriyanna was absolutely true to himself; he refused to give certificates to persons with whom and whose work he was not adequately acquainted. In his papers he always acknowledged in a handsome manner even the smallest help received from others, however young or humble they were in the world of scholars.

Prof. Hiriyanna's papers were always to the point; they never strayed beyond the severe limits of the subject on hand; they were brief but sometimes so packed up that one had to read them over and over again. He often took up concepts from the different śāstras and deduced their unsuspected philosophical implications and significances in such a fine and closely argued style that while they were a treat to the initiate, they were hard food for the facile research scholar or fashionable professor. Where there was a doubt he refrained from merely airing any surmise in the hope of adding to the value of his article, or of anticipating a future find; he omitted rigorously. I may mention here an instructive example: When I was engaged in finding out the real author of the Prakaṭārtha and fixing him as Anubhūtisvarūpa, an identification which both Kuppuswami Sastri and Hiriyanna accepted, there was one reference over the solution of which I spent a good deal of time and energy; in the unpublished commentary on the Iṣṭasiddhi by the same Prakaṭārthakāra there is a reply to a fling from some Naiyāyika who said that for illustrations of other varieties of jātyuttaras, futile respondences, one might go to the Iṣṭasiddhi. I thought the Naiyāyika was Udayana and went through not only all the printed works of that author but manuscripts of the unprinted portions of his Ṭīkāpariśuddhi, but could not lay my hands on any such passage. If I had succeeded in finding out this Naiyāyika it would have once for all narrowed down the limits for the date of Vimuktātman; and I shared my dejection after this futile search with Prof. Hiriyanna. To my surprise he sent me a cutting of a footnote in type-script referring to this same point (taken from Jñānottama's gloss which reproduces Vimuktātman's) and the likelihood of this Naiyāyika being Udayana which he had

hazarded in the Introduction to his edition of the Iṣṭasiddhi in the discussion of the date of the author of that work, but which, on mature consideration of the lack of confirmatory evidence, he had removed from his Introduction. This kind of exercise of restraint and freedom from anxiety to indulge in plausible conjectures is not the least part of the excellence of the writings of Prof. Hiriyanna.

There is a quality of neatness in his writing, of everything in its place, with no room for confusion; this was uniformly present in all things about him. In his house, any guest could go blindfold and find things each in its proper place; all the the 300 volumes of his Library which are now in our Institute bear delicate pencil notes; and evidences of his careful reading have not soiled or rendered the volumes ugly, each book with its wrapper appearing still fresh, and what is more, equipped, in many cases, with cuttings of prominent reviews in standard periodicals.

These are some of the qualities of Prof. Hiriyanna which have exerted an abiding influence on me. In him we had a scholar whose modesty was as profound as his learning, whose style was as chaste as his character, whose conduct was as ennobling as his precept, in fact, one in whom the fruits of culture had truly manifested themselves.

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BOOK REVIEW

GADADHARABHATTACARYA'S VYUTPATTIVADA-LAKARARTHAVICARA. WITH VIVARANA, by Panditaraja V. Subrahmanya Sastri, Annamalainagar, 1949. Annamalai University Sanskrit Series 10, pp. xiv+249.

Next to Gaṅgeśopādhyāya, the author of *Tattvacintāmaṇi* and Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, the author of *Dīdhiti*, a commentary on *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya is a star of high magnitude in the firmament of Navya-nyāya dialectitians. Besides being a great commentator on *Dīdhiti*, Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya is the author of many independent treatises on Navya-nyāya, of which *Vyutpattivāda* and *Śaktivāda* deserve special mention. *Vyutpattivādā*, as the title indicates, is an authoritative work dealing with many important questions connected with śābdabodha (verbal cognition) according to the Navya-nyāya school. Just before him Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra, another great commentator on *Dīdhiti*, had written *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā* on the same subject; yet the *Vyutpattivāda* is more popular than the other among the advanced students of Navya-nyāya who would never fail to master this book.

What is the leading concept (mukhya-viśeṣya) in verbal cognition is a question of learned controversy. The Naiyāyikas accept the prathamāntārtha, the chief meaning of the stem in nominative case in a sentence as the leading concept as far as possible, while the Grammarians and Mīmāṁsakas hold the view respectively that the meaning of the root in a verb and the meaning of the personal termination are the mukhya-viśeṣyas on the basis of the different interpretations of the well-known dictum of Yāska, भावप्रधानमाख्यातम्. It is again a matter of controversy how the relation between one padārtha and another in a sentence which is considered to be the vākyārtha, the chief import of the sentence, is known. The Naiyāyikas hold that each pada conveys its meaning according to the time-honoured convention and that their mutual relation, either *abheda* (identity) or *bheda* (relation involving difference), is to be understood from the *samabhivyāhāra* (the co-utterance and juxtaposition of words in a sentence on the basis of the three accessories, *ākāṅkṣā*—verbal expectancy—,

yogyatā—congruity—and *sannidhi*—close proximity. This is explained by the opening sentence in *Vyutpattivāda*:

शाब्दबोधे चैकपदार्थेऽपरपदार्थस्य संसर्गः संसर्गमर्यादया भासते ।

The Grammarians accept a separate *śakti* on vākya which is an indivisible *sphoṭa* to convey the relation of the padārthas, while the Mīmāṁsakas (the Bhāṭṭas) who are known as the *abhihitānvayavādins* finally accept *lakṣaṇa* on vākya to convery the vākyārtha. The Prābhākaras who are better known as *anvitābhidhānavādins*, accept the view that the padas themselves convey the *abhidhā*, both the padārtha and their *anvaya*-relation. The Naiyāyika viewpoint on this topic is elaborately discussed in the early portion of *Lakārārthavicāra*. The different meanings of the seven suffixes and those of the prātipadikas (nominal and pronominal stems, adjectives, etc.) are also in detail discussed in this part of the book.

The volume under review contains the latter portion, *Lakārārthavicāra*, discussion of the various meanings of the personal suffixes as related to their stems, *viz.*, the root after which they are operated and to other words in a sentence. All lakāras (personal sufixes) have a common meaning in examples like गच्छति, अगच्छत्, viz. *kṛti*, volition, which belongs to the agent (*kartā*). Whether these personal suffixes convey *kṛti* or *kartā* by *abhidhāsakti* is a disputed question. The Grammarians hold the view on the basis of Pāṇini's sūtra, लः कर्मणि च भावे चाकर्मकेभ्यः, that lakāras convey *kartā* (*karma* and *bhāva*) only and not *kṛti*, while the Mīmāṁsakas and the Naiyāyikas accept the view that they convey only *kṛti* (on the basis of ākṛtyadhikaraṇa), the knowledge of which would automatically lead to the knowledge of kartā, its substratum. As these personal suffixes indicate different tenses and moods, different senses like *vartamānatva* are conveyed by them as their special meanings. The present tense (*laṭ*) conveys the sense of *vartamānatva*, the aorist the sense of *atītatva*, the imperfect the two senses of *anadyatanatva* and *atītatva*, the past perfect the three senses of *atītatva*, *anadyatanatva* and *parokṣatva*, and so on, on the basis of sūtras like वर्तमाने लट्, अनद्यतने लङ् and परोक्षे लिट् । Similarly the different forms गच्छति, गच्छतः and गच्छन्ति in three numbers and persons in each lakāra and in two padas convey the different meanings like *ekatva*, *dvitva* and *bahutva*, *paragāmitva* and *ātmagāmitva* as

related to the two meanings of the root, *phala* and *vyāpāra*. All these topics with their final explanations and illustrations are discussed in detail in this book with the points of agreement and disagreement between the Naiyāyikas on one side and the Mīmāṁsakas and the Grammarians on the other.

The topic of *liṅartha*, the meaning of the potential termination, is discussed in detail. The Naiyāyikas explain *vidhi* as the meaning of the potential and imperative suffixes which they interpret as the triple idea of इष्टसाधनत्व, कृतिसाध्यत्व and बलवदनिष्टाननुबन्धी च. The knowledge of a thing to be done, that it is the means of his desired object, that it is possible to accomplish and that it would not produce any great harm to the agent, is indispensible for any man if he has to act on a thing. The mere knowledge of *pravartanā*, the desire of the speaker to make the hearer to act (श्रोतृप्रवृत्त्यनुकूलवक्त्रिच्छा) is not sufficient to produce the *pravṛtti*. The Mīmāṁsakas however accept *pravartanā* (vidhi) as the primary sense of the potential and imperative suffixes in examples like स्वर्गकाम:, गामानय, on the basis of *lāghava* and explain that the knowledge of this *pravartanā* would lead to the inference of इष्टसाधनत्व, कृतिसाध्यत्व and बलवदनिष्टाननुबन्धी च । त्याग: इष्टसाधनं, प्रवर्तनाविषयत्वात् etc.) The Vivaraṇa on this portion makes a special plea to accept the Naiyāyika view in preference to the others' view.

The commentator, Panditaraja V. Subrahmanya Sastrigal is one of the few scholars of today in Nyāya and Advaita-vedānta belonging to the old traditional type of Pandits. The commentary is the direct result of his teaching advanced Nyāya texts, particularly Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācāryā's *Vyutpattivāda* and other works to the Final students of Siromani course in the Annamalai University for the past twenty years. Besides this commentary he has to his credit several original papers in Sanskrit on Śaktivimarśa, Lakṣaṇāvimarśa and Vidhivimarśa (*vide* issues of Annamalai University Journal) which contain critical studies on several problems connected with śābdabodha, such as the conception and scope of śakti and lakṣaṇā, the primary and secondary significative potencies of śabda according to the पदशास्त्र, वाक्यशास्त्र and प्रमाणशास्त्र which have contributed much to the development of the science of semantics in Sanskrit. As an advanced scholar in Nyāya, he finally favours the Naiyāyika view in preference to the views of the other two schools of thought.

Panditaraja V. Subrahmanya Sastrigal is to be congratulated for having written this short fine commentary on the difficult and highly technical text. There are already a few commentaries on this work. The commentary by Dharmadattasūri (Baccha Sarma) is too elaborate in the beginning and dwindles into nothing towards the end. The commentary Ādarśa is not only not helpful to understand the text in many places but is even not reliable in a few instances, which our author has indicated in his commentary. Many other attempts to write commentaries on Vyutpattivāda are known, but they deal with only the early portion. Rāmarudra Bhaṭṭācārya's commentary, though printed in Telugu script, extends only to the middle of the book. The Vivaraṇa which contains explanation for the last portion of the text meets a long-felt need of the students and teachers of this difficult text in Śābdabodha. It is hoped that Panditaraja Sastrigal will write soon his commentary on the early portion also.

The Foreword from the pen of the great royal scholar, His Highness Rama Varma Parikshit, Maharaja of Cochin, explains well the merits and use of this commentary, and it greatly enhances the value of the publication. The contents in Sanskrit of the text and the commentary prepared by the commentator are very useful and add to the value of the publication as a reference book in Vyutpattivāda literature.

V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

Tāy, here, refers to the foster-mother since she alone is confided with secrets, so that she may investigate into them.

Who deserves to be the lady's friend?

123. தோழி தானே செவிலி மகளே.
Tōḻi tāṉ-ē cevili makaḷ-ē.

The lady's friend is the daughter of the foster-mother.

What is her duty?

124. சூழ்தலு முசாத்துணை நிலைமையிற் பொலிமே.
Cūḻtal-u m-ucāttuṇai nilaimaiyiṟ polim-ē.

She shines most when she critically views the situation on her being consulted.

How does she decide the reciprocal love of the lover and the lady?

125. குறையுற வுணர்தன் முன்னுற வுணர்தல்
இருவரு முள்வழி யவன்வர வுணர்தலென
[1]மதியுடம் படுத்த லொருமூ வகைத்தே.
Kuṟai-y-uṟa v-uṇartaṉ muṉ-ṉ uṟa v-uṇartal
Iruvaru m-uḷvaḻi y-āvaṉ-vara v-uṇartal-eṉa
Mati-y-uṭam paṭutta l-oru-mū vakaitt-ē.

There are three ways in which the lady's friend decides the reciprocal love of the lover and the lady:—they happen when the lover expresses his grievances to her, when she infers from the attitude of the lady and when the lover comes while the lady and herself are in each other's company.

Note 1.—*Naccinārkkiṉiyar* feels that the idea contained in this *sūtra* finds expression in the *sūtra nāṟṟamum* (*sūtra* 24 above); but the occasions when the lady's friend has her sayings are mentioned there and the ways of determining the love of the lover and the lady are mentioned here.

What will she do then?

126. அன்ன வகையா னுணர்ந்தபின் னல்லது
பின்னிலை முயற்சி [2]பெறாளென மொழிப.
Aṉṉa vakaiyā ṉ-uṇarntapiṉ n-allatu
Piṉṉilai muyaṟci peṟāḷ-eṉa moḻipa.

They say that she does not try for what should follow, unless she has determined their love in the above ways.

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1. மதியுடம் படுதல் (இளம்.); மதியுடம் படுத்தல் (நச்.)
2. பெறுஉள் (இளம்.); பெறுஉன் (நச்.)

Note 1.—This *sūtra* and the previous one deal with the case when the lady and the lover did not have conjugal union even though they reciprocated each other's love.

Note 2 From Note 1.—It is evident that the reading *peṟāṉ* adopted by *Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar* is not as good as *peṟāḷ* adopted by *Iḷampūraṇar*, since the attempt is on the side of the lady's friend.

127. முயற்சிக் காலத் ததற்பட நாடிப்
புணர்த்த லாற்றலு மவள்வயி னான.
Muyaṟci-k kālat t-ataṟ-paṭa nāṭi-p
Puṇartta l-āṟṟal-u m-avaḷ-vayi ṉ-āṉ-a.

It is her responsibility to determine towards the opportunities of their union when the lover tries for it and to bring it about?

When does she bring it about?

128. குறியெனப் படுவ திரவினும் பகலினும்
அறியக் கிளந்த[1] வாற்ற தென்ப.
Kuṟi-y-eṉa-p paṭuva-t-iraviṉūm pakaliṉ-um
Aṟiya-k kiḷanta v-āṟṟa t-enpa.

The tryst or the time and place of the lovers' meeting may happen both at night and at day.

What is the place of meeting at night?

129. இரவுக் குறியே[2] யில்லகத் துள்ளும்
மனையோர் கிளவி கேட்கும்வழி யதுவே
மனையகம் புகாஅக் காலை யான.
Iravu-k kuṟi-y-ē y-illakat t-uḷḷum
Maṉaiyōr kiḷavi kēṭkum-vaḻi y-atu-vē
Maṉai-y-akam pukāa-k kālai y-āṉ-a.

If, at night, it is not possible for the lovers to meet within the house of lady, the place of their meeting is in a place which is so close to her house as to be at hearing distance.

Which is the place of meeting at day?

130. பகற்புணர் களனே புறனென மொழிப
அவளறி வுணர வருவழி யான.
Pakaṟ-puṇar kaḷaṉ-ē puṟaṉ-eṉa moḻipa
Avaḷ-aṟi v-uṇara varu-vaḻi y-āṉ-a.

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1. கிளந்த (இளம்.); தோன்றும் (நச்.)
2. இரவிற்குறி (இளம்'); இரவுக்குறி (நச்.)

They say that the place of meeting of the lovers at day is outside the fort which is within the knowledge of the lady.

Do they invariably meet at the appointed place?

131. அல்லகுறிப் படுதலு மவள்வயி னுரித்தே
அவன்குறி மயங்கிய வமைவொடு வரினே.
Alla-kuṟi-p paṭutal-u m-avaḻ-vayi ṉ-uritt-ē
Avaṉ-kuṟi mayaṅkiya v-amaivoṭu variṉ-ē,

She may go to a wrong place if the place suggested by the lover is capable of being understood in two ways.

What happens then?

132. ஆங்காங் கொழுகு மொழுக்கமு முண்டே
ஓங்கிய சிறப்பி னொருசிறை யான.
Āṅkāṅ k-oḻuku m-oḻukkam-u m-uṇṭ-ē
Ōṅkiya ciṟappi ṉ-oru-ciṟai y-āṉa.

She, even then, may have the superior type of meeting the lover through her mind, though it is physically one-sided.

Note 1.—*Naccinārkkiṉiyar* interprets that the lover has an opportunity to feel the separation as the lady and her friend.

Is not the lover prevented by *dharmaśāstra* to meet her on certain occasions?

133. மறைந்த வொழுக்கத் தோரையு நாளும்
துறந்த வொழுக்கங் கிழவற் கில்லை.
Maṟainta v-oḻukkat t-ōrai-y-u-nāḷ-um
Tuṟanta v-oḻukkaṅ kiḻavaṟ k-illai.

The rules prohibiting particular hours and days to meet the lady do not apply to the lover during *kaḷavu.*

Is he not prevented by the inaccessible path etc, ?

134. ஆற்றின தருமையு மழிவு மச்சமும்
ஊறு முளப்பட வதனோ ரற்றே.
Āṟṟiṉa t-arumai y-u m-aḻivu m-a c-cam-um
Ūṟu m-uḷappaṭa v-ataṉ-ō raṟṟē.

The difficulty of the path, loss of presence of mind, sense of fear and obstacles are of the same nature, (*i.e.*) do not stand in the way of the lover.

How do the father and the elder brother of the lady, become aware of the kaḷavu?

135. தந்தையுந் தன்னையு முன்னத்தி னுணர்ப.
Tantai-y-un taṉṉai-y-u muṉṉatti ṉ-uṇarpa.

The father and the elder brother of the lady infer (the kaḷavu) from her features.

How does the mother know it?

136. தாயறி வுறுதல் செவிலியோ டொக்கும்.

Tāy-aṟi v-uṟutal ceviliyō ṭ-okkum.

The mother of the lady understands it in the same way as the foster-mother.

Who is chiefly responsible for the kaḷavu to become known to all?

137. அம்பலு மலருங் களவுவெளிப் படுத்தலின்
அங்கதன் முதல்வன் கிழவ னாகும்.

Ampal u m-alar-uṅ kaḷavu-veḷi-p paṭuttaliṉ
Aṅkataṉ mutalvaṉ kiḻava ṉ-ākum.

The lover is chiefly responsible for the *kaḷavu* to become known to others through *ampal* and *alar*.

Note 1.—*Alar* is the talk among people and *ampal* is the communication among them through gestures.

When does the lover express his wish to the lady's father?

138. வெளிப்பட வரைதல் படாமை வரைதலென்று
ஆயிரண் டென்ப வரைத லாறே.

Veḷippaṭa varaital paṭāmai varaital eṉṟu
Āyiraṇ ṭ-eṉpa varaita l-āṟ-ē.

There are two ways of expressing the lover's wish to the lady's father, one after their *kaḷavu* became the public property and another before it.

Is the lover permitted separation from the lady after *kaḷavu* is publicly known and before his *varaivu*?

139. வெளிப்படை தானே கற்பினொ டொப்பினும்
ஞாங்கர்க் கிளந்த மூன்று பொருளாக
வரையாது பிரிதல் கிழவோற் கில்லை.

Veḷippaṭai tāṉ-ē kaṟpiṉo ṭ-oppiṉum
Ñāṅkar-k kiḷanta mūṉṟu poruḷāka
Varaiyātu pirital kiḻavōṟ k-illai.

The lover is not permitted separation from the lady on account of three causes—study, war and embassy—after *kaḷavu* and before *varaivu*, even though *kaḷavu* that is publicly known is similar to *kaṟpu*.

Note 1.—*Varaivu* is the expression of the lover's wish to marry the lady to her father.

Kaḷaviyal ends.

निर्वेदकरमाचारं दृष्ट्वा तेषां दुरात्मनाम् ।
निवृत्तः सर्वसंसारान्मरणायेदमारभे ॥ ८ ॥

इति श्रुत्वा शुभां वाचं व्याजहार नृपात्मजः ।
सत्यं दुःसह एवासौ पुंसां दुर्जनसङ्गमः ॥ ९ ॥

सन्त्येव भुवि सन्तोऽपि तुल्याः स्वार्थपरार्थयोः ।
सद्भिः सहोपवासोऽपि स्वदेतान्यैः सुखाशनात् ॥ १० ॥

अपनीयायुषि द्वेषं तद् भवाननुयातु नः ।
इति ब्रुवति तत्रैका शिबिका समदृश्यत ॥ ११ ॥

तस्यां वर्षवरप्रायैः स्त्रीजनैर्वृतमन्तिकात् ।
रुजा परीतमेत्यामी सोमदत्तमलक्षयन् ॥ १२ ॥

सोमदत्तः सुहृत्प्रेम्णा स्वस्थीभूतः स तैः सह ।
प्रच्छाये क्वचनासीनो निगृह्य ज्वरवेदनाम् ॥ १३ ॥

वर्गाद्यन्तान्तस्थैर्ऋऌवर्णविवर्जितैः स्वरैर्मृदुभिः ।
स चतुर्विंशतिवर्णैः स्वचरितमनुवर्णयांचक्रे ॥ १४ ॥

कुमार ! तत्राचलकानने त्व-
व्यलोकिते ताम्यति मित्रलोके ।
चरत्यवन्यामनुपारियात्रं
वनोर्मिमालिन्यपरा मयापे ॥ १५ ॥

ततो मणिं तत्पुलिने निलीनं
विलोक्य मत्वा पतितं कुतोऽपि ।
पटान्तमानीय चरन्नटव्यां
व्यलोकयं विप्रकमार्तरूपम् ॥ १६ ॥

विचार्यते केन वनं त्वयैत-
न्मयैवमुक्ते लपितं च तेन ।
अकिञ्चनः किञ्चन याचमानः
प्राणक्रियां लाटपतेर्नयामि ॥ १७ ॥

लाटोत्तमे तत्र च मत्तकाले
कन्यानिमित्तं प्रति पारियात्रम् ।
प्रवर्तमाने कटकानुवर्ती
चराम्यरण्ये परियाचनाय ॥ १८ ॥

एवं मयाकर्ण्य मणौ वितीर्णे
विप्रे ततः प्रीततरे प्रयाते ।
प्रमीलितः किञ्चन तं च विप्रं
किमप्यनीकं पुरतो व्यलोकि ॥ १९ ॥

ते मामवोचन् परिवार्य कोपा-
न्मित्राणि चान्ये मणयः क्व चेति ।
नावैमि किञ्चित् पुलिने मयैत-
न्माणिक्यमालोकितमित्यवोचम् ॥ २० ॥

एतावतान्यानपि पञ्च चोरा-
नानीय तान् नः कटकं नयन्तः ।
ते मानवाः कर्णकटु क्वणन्तः
कारालयं नो नियमय्य निन्युः ॥ २१ ॥

उक्ता विविक्ते तु मया किमेतत्
के यूयमित्यूचुरमी च चोराः ।
लाटोऽयमत्रापचिते रिपाव-
प्यलं निकर्तुं न तु पारियात्रः ॥ २२ ॥

तत्कन्यकां लाटपतिः प्रतीतां
नाम्ना च वामाञ्चितलोचनेति ।
आकर्ण्य तूर्णं परिणेतुकामः
प्रचक्रमे मित्रतया प्रयातुम् ॥ २३ ॥

अवेत्य तन्मित्रतयाप्यरातेः
प्राप्तिर्न युक्तेति विचार्य कन्याम् ।
अमात्यमित्रावनिपालयुक्ता-
मनीनयत्तामपि पारियात्रः ॥ २४ ॥

पश्चापि चोराः कटकानुयाता
अमात्यपुत्रानुचरा वयं ते ।
रत्नानि लाटालयमेत्य वैरी-
त्यचोरयामात्र निलीयमानाः ॥ २५ ॥

वने क्वचिच्चोरितरत्नमेकं
च्युतं ततः प्राप्य निकेतमार्ताः ।
एतन्निमित्तं पुनरप्युपेताः
क्रान्ता वयं चैत्रमनीकवीरैः ॥ २६ ॥

आकर्ण्य चैतच्चरणेन यन्त्रं
लूत्वा वयं नक्तमथैव चोरैः ।
लुप्त्वालयं कान्यपि यामिकाना-
मालूय कन्याकटकं प्रपन्नाः ॥ २७ ॥

तत्रैकतो यामवतीविरामे
क्लमान्निमीलन्नयनोऽप्युपान्ते ।
पत्रेण नारीमपि मारयन्तं
कमप्यलङ्काररुचा व्यलोके ॥ २८ ॥

तं मारयित्वा वनितामवोचं
का त्वं किमित्यालपितं च तन्व्या ।
अवैतु कन्यापरिचारिकां मां
कल्याणवर्मा मम मानपालः ॥ २९ ॥

अमात्यपुत्रः प्रणयी च योऽयं
कल्याणिना कालपुरं प्रणीतः ।
प्रकण्टको नाम चमूपतेर्नः
कुलान्तकः पीलुपतेः कुमारः ॥ ३० ॥

मैत्री परा पत्युरनेन चायं
चिरायमाणे रमणेऽत्र रात्रौ ।
प्रेम्णानुनीय प्रतिकूलरूपां
मां मारयन् कारुणिक त्वयाप्तः ॥ ३१ ॥

इतीरितां वाचमवेत्य वाप्यां
रक्तावलिसं परिपूय कायम् ।
वेलापतेरुच्चलिते रवाव-
प्याकर्णयं व्याकुलरावमेवम् ॥ ३२ ॥

मित्रं प्रमाप्यात्मनिकेतनेऽपि
व्यलीकमारोप्य च मानपालः ।
प्रकण्टकं पीलुपतिप्रयुक्तै-
र्नियन्त्रितो यातयितुं प्रणीतः ॥ ३३ ॥

न युक्तमित्यत्र च मानपाले
क्रूराणि कर्माण्यविनीत एव ।
प्रकण्टकः किं च तयोक्तमेतत्
कोऽप्याचरन्मारयितुं ममेति ॥ ३४ ॥

लोकप्रलापानिति तत्र चित्रा-
नाकर्ण्य तूर्णं विचरन्नुपान्ते ।
तां पारियात्रावनिपालकन्यां
न्यरूपयं तत्र च पर्वतान्ते ॥ ३५ ॥

मारातुरः किञ्चन चिन्तयित्वा
विमुच्यतां मन्त्रिकुमार आर्तः ।
एतन्मयैवाक्रियतामुना ने-
त्यवोचमुच्चैः करमुन्नमय्य ॥ ३६ ॥

ते पञ्च चोरा अपि मानपालं
परीयुरुन्मूल्य बलं रिपूणाम् ।
याता वयं यत्र च चित्तचोरी
तं पर्वतं वैरिनिवारणाय ॥ ३७ ॥

विलुप्तमौलः पुनरेत्य कान्तां
प्रवातवल्लीमिव वेपमानाम् ।
चोरा वयं ते परिपालनीया
इत्यालपं तच्चरणान्तवर्ती ॥ ३८ ॥

कन्या तु कामाचितविक्रिया मां
व्रीलाविनम्राननमालुलोके ।
आलोक्य तत्रान्तिकवर्तिनीं मा-
मित्यालपन्मन्त्रिकुमारकान्ता ॥ ३९ ॥

वक्त्रान्मम त्वच्चरितान्यवेत्य
प्रीतेयमत्राप्यतिमानवेन ।
रूपेण रम्येण पराक्रमेण
क्रीतेव ते कर्मकरी कुमारी ॥ ४० ॥

इत्यन्तरे मन्त्रिकुमारपूर्वा
मामन्ववर्तन्त परे च वीराः ।
लाटः पुनः पल्लिपतिप्रणीतां
वार्तामवेत्याकुलमापपात ॥ ४१ ॥

रोपैरनेकानुचरं विचित्रै-
रालातचक्रेण च वारणेन ।
रणान्तरे लाटपतिं रिपुं तं
यमालयं प्रापयमात्तकोपम् ॥ ४२ ॥

पत्रेण मन्त्री मतिपालनामा
तां पारियात्राय निनाय वार्ताम् ।
प्रीतः परं तेन वितीर्य कन्या-
माकारयन्मामपि वीरकेतुः ॥ ४३ ॥

प्राप्तेयमापत् पुनरामयात्मा
मामेवमूचे च विलोक्य मन्त्री ।
कार्यान्तरात् तात! वयं प्रपन्नाः
पुरा पुरारातेमवान्तिपुर्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥

मालावती नाम च वीरकेतोः
पत्नी त्रिणेत्रं चिरमर्चयन्ती ।
तं कन्यकापत्यमयाचतैनां
प्रीतः पिनाकी पुनरित्युवाच ॥ ४५ ॥

कन्या वितीर्णा वरवर्णिनी ते
यः कन्यकायाः कलयेत् करान्तम् ।
अनर्चिता त्र्यानपि चेन्ममर्तून्
चित्तामयेन म्रियते पुरायम् ॥ ४६ ॥

इत्येवमेनामपि पारियात्रः
कुर्याममित्रान्ततयेति मत्वा ।
तां मत्तकालाय निनाय कन्या
(मुक्ता विपञ्चा)पतिता तवेयम् ॥ ४७ ॥

अवन्तिपुर्यां त्वरया पुरारिं
ततोऽर्चयामित्यमुयाप्यमैव ।
आनीतवान मामयमत्र च त्वा-
मालोक्य निर्वा(ण इवामयो मे) ॥ ४८ ॥

इति श्रुते मन्त्रिणि तत्सुते च
प्रयुज्य पूजां मनुजेन्द्रसूनुः ।
हरार्चनोल्लाघसुहृत्सहायः
पुष्पोद्भवस्यालयमाविवेश ॥ ४९ ॥

पुष्पोद्भवस्याथ समीक्ष्य माता
दिष्ट्यैव दृष्टः कृपयामुनैव ।
उज्जीवितहं विपिने विपन्ने-
त्यादिश्य विद्येश्वरमापपात ॥ ५० ॥

तस्मिन् दिने मित्रसमाजरम्ये
गते परेद्युः स तु सौम्रेयः ।
प्रापय्य विद्येश्वरसोमदत्ता-
वुपह्वरं प्राक्रमताभिधातुम् ॥ ५१ ॥

अजायतैवं जरितारिशापात्
साम्बः कुमारोऽयममुष्य देवी ।
अवन्तिसुन्दर्यजनि स्मरन्तौ
परस्परं तौ क्षणमैक्षिषाताम् ॥ ५२ ॥

अथाविषह्यस्मरविक्रियोऽपि तां
प्रियामदत्तां गुरुणा नृपात्मजः ।
समानतापामपि नोद्विवक्षते
भ्रातुः परोक्षं न तु हर्तुमीहते ॥ ५३ ॥

कालात्ययं न क्षमते विकारः
सन्तर्कितस्तत्र मयाभ्युपायः ।
योऽस्मासु मायाकुशलः स राज्ञे
विदर्शयेत् कानिचिदद्भुतानि ॥ ५४ ॥

सविस्मयायाभिजनादिरम्यं
तमेव निर्दिश्य वरं सुतायाः ।
आहूय पित्रा विधिवद् वितीर्णां
विवाहयेत्तामचिरात् कुमारम् ॥ ५५ ॥

व्यामोह्य मायाभिरशेषमेवं
निर्वर्तिते तेन विभोर्विवाहे ।
देव्येव रक्षिष्यति सारह···
······चद्वामपि तत् क्रियेत ॥ ५६ ॥

तथेति ताभ्यामनुमन्यमाने
स्वकान्तया तामपि सौव्रतेयः ।
निवेदितार्थामकरोन्नरेन्द्र-
(मुपेत्य विद्येश्वर एव) मूचे ॥ ५७ ॥

मायास्वधीती विविधास्वहं तद्
देवानुगृह्णात्ववधानदानात् ।
व्यामोहनं क्रीडितमिन्द्रजालम्
इति त्रिभेदां प्रवदन्ति मा(याम्) ॥ ५८ ॥

························शेषाद्
दुरत्ययास्तत् पुनरिन्द्रजालम् ।
विलोकयतां विस्मयनीयमेवं
स्वयोगपिञ्छां भ्रमयांचकार ॥ ५९ ॥

प्रादुर्बभूवुः पुर(तश्च नागा)
स्तद्वक्षिणः पक्षिगणास्ततोऽपि ।
बहुप्रकारानिति दर्शयित्वा
योक्ष्यन् वरेण्येन वरेण कन्याम् ॥ ६० ॥

शस्त्रेण राजा शकलीकृतो य-
स्त्वया सुतस्तस्य तपस्यतोऽभूत् ।
स चक्रवर्ती भविता तवेमां
लभेत पुत्रीमिति भूपमूचे ॥ ६१ ॥

सविस्मयः स्वामनुमान्य देवीं
सुतां नरेन्द्रः स्वयमाजुहाव ।
मायामयी लोकसमक्षमन्या
कन्या कृता विस्मयदर्शिनीति ॥ ६२ ॥

आहूय मायामयमानसार-
मन्त्रिप्रधानेन ततः कुमारीम् ।
विद्येश्वरः कल्पविवाहवेषं
तं दर्शयामास नरेश्वराय ॥ ६३ ॥

कुमारमेत्याग्निरथोऽपि तावद्
गुरून् समानेतुमथोत्पपात ।
क्षणेन च प्राप विमानमेकं
सर्वान् समारोप्य सवामदेवान् ॥ ६४ ॥

ततो मुनीन्द्रैः सह राजहंसं
राजर्षिमभ्यागतमभ्यनन्दत् ।
अवन्तिनाथः पितरौ कुमारो
मुनिं च सानन्दमना ववन्दे ॥ ६५ ॥

तं वामदेवो वरमेवमूचे
कालाश्रयं वत्स ! जगत् समस्तम् ।
तस्मिन्निमेषादिसहस्रभेदे
कालेऽपि सन्तो विवदन्त एव ॥ ६६ ॥

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